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TWO LEAVES OF KING WALDERE'S LAY

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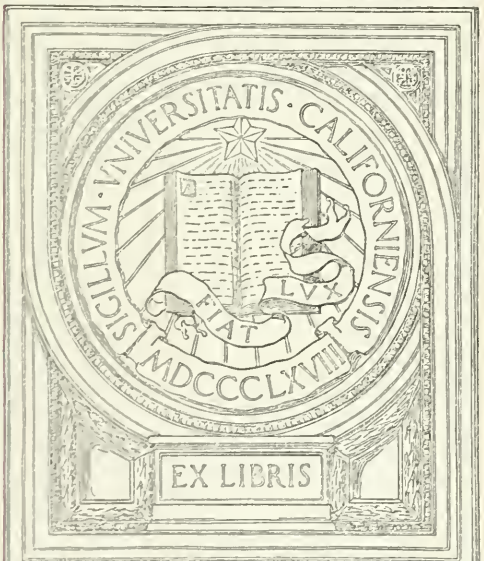

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TWO LEAVES

OF

KING WALDERE'S LAY;

FROM THE ORIGINALS

IN THE GREAT NATIONAL LIBRARY

CHEAPINGHAVEN, DENMARK.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHT.

WITH TRANSLATION, COMMENTS, WORD-ROLL,

AND FOUR PHOTOGRAPHIC FACSIMILES,

BY

GEORGE STEPHENS, ESQ.

ON FINE PAPER, WITH THE FACSIMILES, 15 SHILLINGS. — ON COMMON PAPER, WITHOUT FACSIMILES, 7 SHILLINGS AND 6 PENCE.

CHEAPINGHAVEN AND LONDON,

1860.

TWO LEAVES

OF

KING WALDERE'S LAY,

A HITHERTO UNKNOWN

OLD-ENGLISH EPIC OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY,

BELONGING TO THE SAGA-CYCLUS

KING THEODRIC AND HIS MEN.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHT

FROM THE ORIGINALS OF THE 9TH CENTURY

BY

GEORGE STEPHENS, ESQ.,

PROFESSOR OF OLD-ENGLISH, AND OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CHEAPINGHAVEN, DENMARK.

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PR
1780
S83 t

TO

THAT LABORIOUS SCHOLAR

THE REV. JOS. BOSWORTH, D.D., F.R.S., F.S.A.,

PROFESSOR OF OLD-ENGLISH

IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD, —

WHERE ALONE

THROUGHOUT ALL THE BRITISH EMPIRE

A SHELTER

HAS HITHERTO BEEN OPENED

FOR

THE STUDY OF OUR NOBLE OLDEN MOTHER-TONGUE, —

THESE PRECIOUS FRAGMENTS

OF

THE OLD-ENGLISH AMALING-SAGA

ARE

VERY RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED.

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FORE-WORD.

In presenting this imperfect attempt to the Public, I must commence by an act of thanks and respectful acknowledgment to the Danish Literary Veteran Prof. E. C. WERLAUFF, for his great courtesy in extending to me unwont facilities for copying the two leaves now first publisht; and to the Secretary and Council of our noble SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON, for the friendly readiness with which they have assisted me, by a pecuniary grant, in procuring the facsimiles by which this work is guaranteed and accompanied. The World of Letters will join with me in this expression of homage for such generous aid.

Next, altho all apologies of the kind are too commonly and unfairly overlookt, I must plead for indulgence. All parties were anxious that this remarkable discovery should be made public *with the least possible delay.* I have therefore, as far as other duties permitted, thrown everything else aside, and devoted myself unremittingly to my charming task. But it has been one of great labor and of great haste. No time was to be lost in *minutiæ.* So I at once give it to the world with all its imperfections on its head. It was better to send it out at once, even tho there might be errors of critical detail, rather than keep it back for months or years that I might have leisure for further enquiry. A correct transcript was the great point. This

I have given; and I have controlled myself by the facsimiles. All the rest will come of itself. Abler pens than mine will soon elucidate what I may have been compelled to leave dark and doubtful; and (I hope) *friendly* scholars will in a *friendly* spirit excuse the weaknesses of a *first attempt* (we all know what that means!), and rectify without bitterness any mistakes into which I may have fallen. I repeat, the object was — to make it known, with reasonable correctness and a fair amount of elucidation, *as speedily as might be.* And accordingly this work has been written within the space of *one month.*

With regard to the *subject* treated of in this find: — King ARTHUR and his Round Table, CHARLEMAGNE and his Peers, each of them the centres round which move a whole array of Knights and Ladies and all sorts of ancient traditions and startling adventures — what a halo of glory surrounds them both! The one the fruit of old Breton-Welsh Bard-rhapsodies, and in some degree a type of British exploit, the other bound up with the special legends of the Franco-Gallic race, and enshrining the memories of ROLAND and Roncesvalles and so many other Paladins, — what chords do they not strike, what recollections do they not awake, how have they not become household words with us all, again and again revived by the Poet and the Romancer!

But even these — the latter borrowing much from the former — were themselves preceded by older prototypes, which they have largely imitated and echoed. Behind and side by side with the Anglo-Norman and Kymric cycles, we have traditions still more wild and dim and mythical, heroes connected with the infancy of all the Northern, Gothic, Germanic and "Scythian" races, stories full of life, of horror, of beauty, deeply interesting to every student of our folk-lore and antiquities.

The great store-house of these particular champion-tales is that Northern Thousand-and-one-Nights — the Theodric's or

Vilkina Saga, a delightful Romance-book from the 13th century unfortunately not yet translated into English, but well known to our Scandinavian scholars.

One of the Episodes in this Adventure-Cyclus relates to King WALTHER (the Old-English WALDERE) of Aquitaine. But what is here only slightly referred to is found at large in a fine Latin Epic of the 10th Century, evidently based on old German Popular Ballads.

ATTILA and his victorious Huns compel GIBICH of Frankenland to pay tribute and to give HAGAN as an hostage, the same necessity being afterwards imposed on HERIRICH of Burgundy, who surrenders his daughter HILTGUND, and on ALPHERE of Aquitaine, who delivers to the conqueror his son WALTHER STRONG-HAND, whose youthful love had long been fixt on HILTGUND.

The hostage princes become famous war-chiefs, and WALTHER is ATTILA'S Chosen General. But freedom and home inspire them. HAGAN escapes. WALTHER gives a great banquet, and, while the wine-drunk warriors slumber, he, too, happily makes his way from the palace, bearing with him the beauteous HILTGUND and ATTILA'S choicest treasures. His fleet steed carries them over hill and dale, and he is drawing near to his own country when he is basely attackt by GUNTHAR, king of the Franks, and eleven other stalwart-swordsmen. The recreant sovereign cannot resist the temptation of the solitary knight's costly gold-hoard. A deadly combat ensues. This is described with great splendor in the Latin Hexameters. The fidelity of HILTGUND, who acts as the page and guard and butler of her sore-prest lover, is very touchingly dwelt upon. In spite of the over-match, WALTHER slays ten of his foes, the one after the other, for only one at a time could assail him in his impregnable mountain-cave. GUNTHAR now employs a stratagem. But the only result is, that all three are dreadfully wounded, WALTHER losing his right hand. Mutual peace is now made. The hero enters his own land, is

united with the partner of his dangerous flight, and in due time succeeds to the sceptre of his hero-father.

Here the Latin versifier breaks off. He informs us that he knows many a tale about WALTHER'S exploits after this period, but he adds not one word as to their nature, nor are we able to find any details hereon in any other work.

But here a happy accident comes to our rescue thro these two Old-English parchment leaves, and I cannot usher these fragments into the world, without at once calling attention to their excessive value and importance. No such discovery has been made in English Literature for a century past. Not only do they add to our stock of Old-English words, but they present us with 119 lines of an Epic Saga hitherto entirely unknown, lost both in Scandinavia and in Germany, and, as far as I know, never before heard of either in Old English or Early English or Middle or Later English. This, of itself, is a most remarkable fact. But it is still more so when we consider the results which flow from it. It is evident from the Epical breadth of treatment which we find in these leaves, that the Lay has been on an extensive scale, some 6 or 8,000 lines. But it was utterly impossible for our forefathers to have possest such a noble work of art on *one* of the heroes of ancient mythic tradition — and he comparatively a *minor* member of the Walhall assembly — without their having sung the deeds of the others also, particularly the Adventures and Teachings of the Chief Gods and Champions. — This points back to the existence of *Old-English Edda Songs,* of which reminiscences exist in other quarters, and of which the SCÓP'S COMPLAINT in the Exeter Book is one, while, in a way, these fragments also belong thereto, just as the Völundarkviða, the Helgakviða, the Sigurdakviða, Fafnismál and other fragments of the Theodric-Cyclus, &c., are always printed with the Mythic Edda-songs.

But this is not all. Our splendid BEOWULF, the noblest olden Epic possest by any modern European race, has hitherto been somewhat of a riddle, a kind of strange fossil creature dug up from some stratum of the past, and apparently unconnected with the rest of our literature. We have been almost awed and shaken by its mysterious presence. It was, in some degree, not of ourselves. — Now all is clear. Beowulf was only *one of many*. The Epic and Legendary Heathen and Half-heathen chant-rolls of the 'English Kin' have been rich and manifold. They have been the work of our most gifted men, and have been sung in the halls of our mightiest chieftains. Accident alone has destroyed this school of Early Song. *First* it was naturally but unnecessarily undermined by the jealousy of the great Christian Corporation in England — many of them Italians or other foreigners, and most of them anxious to speak and write and read rather Latin than their Mother-tongue. In this respect they acted with far less patriotism and real conservatism than their compeers in Iceland, where the oldest Heathen Lays and Fables were happily rescued by Christian Priests — whereby alone we have some tolerable idea of the religion of our unconverted fore-elders. — *Next* it was supplanted by the Christian poetical Legends and Bible-Lays produced in rivalry, as in the spirit and language, of their heathen predecessors, consequently abounding in precious words and phrases borrowed from the oldest heathen poetical terminology, and as we know often sung by Missionaries at cross-roads and fairs and markets to a curious and delighted crowd. Some fragments of these, of great beauty, such as that magnificent torso JUDITH, the Legend of S. ANDREW, of S. HELEN, &c. have come down to our times. Would that they were read in our great schools! — *Lastly*, what had escaped these perils has almost all perisht in the upheaving and modification of the Old English speech at the Normannic period, in the bloody civil wars of the Middle Ages,

the iconoclastic barbarisms of the Reformation, and the scorn and neglect of later times. — But, the fact is undeniable; it is now clear and patent to all men, that England *has had* a hoard of antique National Champion-Ballads no less varied and no less splendid than her Scandinavian kinsmen — even Iceland not excepted.

So much the more is it incumbent on us to study and venerate the few remaining "inscribed bricks" of this buried Temple of Song. Including the two leaves now restored to us, and Beowulf and its episode (the Fight at Finnesburg) and what else we may gather from roll and record, we still have a costly Scaldic heirloom from our oldest annals. Possibly — for this *find* is a proof that we should never despair — Providence may one day permit other pieces to be rescued, at home or abroad. At all events, no nation — Scandinavia our fatherland alone excluded — can compete with us. In spite of fanaticism and flames and damp and destruction, we have still enough left to shew that the English Folk — instruments in God's hand for spreading Law and Letters over the most distant shores, that "Nation of Shopkeepers" which works hard and pays its debts and prefers Right and Freedom to "glory", Faith to pantheistic fantasy — but which can fight when need be, and think when required — has been from the first what it was in the days of CHAUCER and of SPENSER, of SHAKESPEAR, MILTON and POPE, of BURNS and of WORDSWORTH, and what it is even at this moment, shiningly distinguisht for Ideal Creation, for Fine Feeling, for a gentle honest Love of Nature, and for a matchless flow of Never-dying Poetry. May none dare to abuse this gift! May the Lords of the Lyre among us alway write over the door of their garret or their studio, alway remember, when their trembling hand penneth the thoughts that breathe and the words that burn: — SOLI DEO GLORIA!

One word more and I have done. With regard to ourselves as to the Scandinavians, Heathen or Christian, this opens up another subject. We sometimes call the founders of the free states in Europe — the Angles and other Northmen, the Goths and the Germans — "Barbarians". Well. So be it. (Only let us, in a parenthesis, thank God that the festering filth and crushing yoke and beastly slavery of "the Holy Roman Empire" *fell* before the sabres of these hardy warriors, however untutored in mechanical spelling — which, by the bye, most of "the Romans" were too.) But — establishing such States, and laying down laws so wise (we still live under them!), and balancing the internal governing powers so judiciously, and gradually extirpating slavery itself, — and the while possessing Songs and Sagas whose splendor never will be surpast, Robes and Armor and Tools admirable in beauty, Dragon-ships glowing with gold and fleet as the falcon: — merely because they had not gone to a Sunday-school or been cowed or crammed to meet some Mandarin Examination-board, *were* these stalwart Men, our Hero-Ancestors, — I speak reverently, and *pace* HUME and his followers — really and of a sooth "savages" and "*Barbarians*"?

Cheapinghaven, Denmark, Feb. 11, 1860.

GEORGE STEPHENS.

EDDA-GREETING.

VALDARR Dönum
með Jarizleifi,
Eymóðr þriði
með Jarizskari,
inn géngu þá
jöfrum líkir;
Langbarðs liðar
höfðu loða rauða,
skreyttar brynjur,
steypta hjálma,
skálmum gyrðir
höfðu skarar jarpar.

WALDAR, from the Danskers,
and daring Jarizleif,
Eymóth third champion,
and Jarizskar with him —
came they in there,
kings in bearing.
Those lords of the Lombard [ATLI (ATTILA)]
loths (cloaks) had of crimson,
damaskt brinies,
dainty-cast helmets;
with blades stept they belted,
and with brown-flowing hair-locks.

Guðrúnar-kviða II, st. 19, Sæmund's Edda, ed. P. A. Munch, Christiania 1847, 4to, p. 156.

OLD-ENGLISH WRITINGS IN SCANDINAVIA.

As it cannot but be interesting and useful to know what Old-English documents have hitherto been found in the Scandinavian North, especially as they are little or incorrectly known in England, I here bring together the few extant remains of this description. — No. 4 in this list is the one just discovered, and the immediate subject of the present publication.

I.

ALDORMAN ÆLFRED'S DEED OF GIFT.

(OLD-SOUTH-ENGLISH.)

WRITTEN BEFORE THE YEAR 871.

The oldest, most splendid and most precious codex preserved in the National Library, Stockholm, is a folio so called *Liber purpureus*, written and illuminated with great magnificence, chiefly in letters of gold, and hence usually denominated *Codex Aureus*. It is an *Evangeliarium*, a book of the Four Gospels, in Saint Jerome's Latin version, apparently of Italian workmanship, and executed not later than the 6th Century, or possibly the beginning of the 7th. We know nothing of its history, or how it was found in England in the 9th Century and again in Mantua in the 17th. It was bought in that city by J. G. Sparfwenfelt in the year 1690, and was given by him to the Library where it at this moment remains. The text contains valuable readings, and the first page bears one of the richest illuminations anywhere known. Further

information will be found in the work mentioned below*, from which I repeat (and add to) what concerns the subject before us, especially as the work in question is now scarce and is written in Swedish.

At the top and bottom of the illuminated title-leaf is written, in a bold and clear hand, the following Deed of Gift, in the usual Old South English dialect: —

✝ IN nomine dn̄i nri͞i hv̄ xp̄i, Ic aelfred aldormon	
7wérburg míngefera begetan ðasbéc æt haeðnū herge mid	
uncre claenefeo ðæt ðonne wæs mid clæne golde 7ðæt	
wit deodan forgodes lufan 7for uncre sauleðearf Ond for-	
ðon ðewit noldan ðæt ðas halgan béoc lencg Inðære	Aelfre[d]
haeðenesse wunaden, 7nuwillað heo gesellan Innto cristes	
circan gode tolofe 7towuldre 7toweorðunga 7his ðrowunga	
toðoncunga, 7ðæm godcundan geferscipe tobrucen[ne]**	Werbur[g]
ðeincristes circan dæghwæmlice godes lof rærað, toðæm-	
gerade ðæt heomon árede eghwelce monaðe for aelfred	
7for werburge 7for alhðryðe heora saulum tó écum lece	
dome, ða hwile ðegod gesegen haebbe ðæt fulwiht æt	
ðeosse stowe beon mote, , , Écswelce Ic aelfred, dux,	Alhðryð
7werburg biddað 7halsiað óngodes almaehtiges noman	coru***
7ónallra his haligra ðæt nænigmon seo toðon gedyr[s]tig	[? m filia]
ðætte ðas halgan beoc áselle oðde áðeode fromcristes	
circan ðahwile ðe fulwiht stondan mote . . . . ****	

* "Förteckning öfver de förnämsta Brittiska och Fransyska Handskrifterna, uti Kongl. Bibliotheket i Stockholm. Af GEORGE STEPHENS, Esq. Stockholm. P. A. Norstedt & Söner. 1847." pp. 1—17.

** The letters ne] have been cut away when the book was last rebound.

*** The last letters of this word, like as the d and g in the names above, cut away at the said rebinding: — coru is quite plain, and there are traces of the m, the last being turned up as if for union with another word, probably *filia*. RASK has the guess 'corung', which, *if it exist*, makes no sense; and this guess he has printed as tho it were really in the MS.

**** Some words, probably including the date, cut away at the last binding. — The words IN — *sauleðearf* are at the upper part of the leaf; — *Ond* — *mote* are below; — the *names* are on the right margin. All in the same hand.

This Legal Entry was first made public by M. O. CELSIUS, in his "Bibliothecæ Regiæ Stockholmensis Historia, Holmiæ 1751", p. 180, but very faultily; afterwards by RASK, in his "Angelsaksisk Sproglære, Stockholm 1817, 8vo", p. 167, with tolerable correctness, but the orthography doctored according to his system. He also gave a facsimile of some few lines. In THORPE'S translation (Copenhagen 1830) we have both text

I have printed the above as it stands in the MS., without separating the words so often joined in one, a custom at one time common in all languages.

TRANSLATION.

† IN NOMINE *Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.* I Aelfred Aldorman (Earl), and Werburg my partner (Wife), got this book from a heathen war-troop with (in exchange for) of-both our clean fee (a sum in the personal property of us both), which then was with clean (pure) gold. And that we-two did for God's love and for our soul's behoof, and for that we-two would not that these holy books (writings) should longer abide in heathenesse (heathen hands). And now will we give it into Christs-Church, God to praise and glory and worship and in thankful remembrance of His passion; and for the use of the Sacred Community (Brotherhood) which in Christs-Church is daily heard to magnify the Lord, to the end that the same may be read each month for Aelfred and for Werburg and for Alhdryd, to the eternal health of their souls, so long as God may have seen-fit (may permit) that Baptism (holy rites) may continue at this place. And eke I, Aelfred, Duke, and Werburg, pray and beseech, in the name of God Almighty and all His Hallows (Saints), that no one shall dare to give or part these holy books (Gospels) from Christs-Church, so long as Baptism may there abide — —.

Aelfred. Werburg. Alhdryd, their [daughter].

Thus was this precious tome rescued by an act of costly sacrifice from a Scandinavian Pagan wiking-force, and deposited among the shrines and relics of our most splendid Cathedral; and we cannot but feel a lively interest in the Giver and his family. It appears to me that I have succeeded in finding some *authentic* facts respecting him.

---

and translation with little change. In my edition (printed at Stockholm) *woruldre*, in 7th line, is a misprint for *wuldre*. — In the "Appendix B to Mr. Cooper's Report", printed by the English Government (? in 1836 or 1837) but never publicly distributed, this Inscription is given much more correctly, but there are some errors. The editor adds: "See the accompanying facsimile", but this facsimile has been supprest or forgotten, at least in my copy.

In KEMBLE'S "Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici, Londini 1839, Vol. 2", p. 120, we have the following document, copied from the Appendix to LYE'S "Dictionarium", London 1772, Vol. 2, charter 2.

DUKE AELFRED, 871—889.

÷ Xp̄. Ic Elfred dux hatu writan 7 cyðan an ðissum gewrite . Elfrede regi 7 eallum his weotum 7 geweotan . 7 ec swylce minum megum 7 minum gefeorum . ða men ðe ic mines erfes 7 mines boclondes seolest onn . ðæt is ðonne Werburg min wif 7 uncer gemene bearn . ðæt is ðonne æt ærestan an Sonderstede 7 on Selesdune xxxii hida . 7 on Westarham xx hida . 7 on Cloppaham xxx hida . 7 on Leangafelda vii hida . 7 on Horsalege x hida . 7 on Netelamstyde vii hida. Ic Elfred dux sello Werburge 7 Alhðryðe uncum gemenum bearne . æfter minum dege . ðas lond mid cwice erfe . 7 mid earðe . 7 mid allum þingum ðe to londum belimpað . 7 twa þusendu swina ic heom sello mid ðem londum . gif hit hio gehaldeð mid ðare clænnisse ðe uncer word gecwædu seondan . 7 hio gebrenge æt sancte Petre min twa wergeld gif ðet godes wille seo ðæt heo ðæt færeld age; Ond æfter Werburge dæge seo Alhðryðe ða lond unbefliten on Sonderstyde . 7 on Selesdune . 7 on Leangafelda. Ond gif heo bearn hæbbe . feo ðæt bearn to ðæm londum æfter hire . gif heo bearn næbbe . feo ðonne an hire rehtfæderen sio neste hond to ðem londe . ond to ðem erfe . 7 swa hwylc minra fædrenmega swa ðæt sio ðæt hine to ðan gehagige . ðæt he ða oðoro lond begeotan mæge . 7 wille . ðonne gebycge he ða lond æt hire mid halfe weorðe. Ond swe hwylc mon swa ðæt sio ðæt ðes londes bruce ofer minne dæg on Cloppaham ðanne geselle he cc peninga eghwylce gere to Ceortesege for Elfredes sawle . to feormfultume. Ond ic sello Æðelwalde minum suna iii hida boc londes . ii hida on Hwætedune . anes hides an Gatatune . 7 him sello ðærto c swina . 7 gif se cyning him geunnan wille ðes folclondes to ðæm boclonde . ðonne habbe 7 bruce . gif hit ðæt ne sio . ðonne selle hio him swa hwaðer swa hio wille . swa ðet lond on Horsalege . swa ðet an Leangafelda; Ond ic sello Berhtsige minum mege an hide boclondes on Lænçanfelda . 7 ðærto c. swina . 7 geselle hio c. swina to Cristes cirican for me . 7 for mine sawle . 7 c to Ceortesege . 7 ðone oferecan mon gedæle gind mynsterhamas to godes ciricum in Suðregum . 7 in Cent . ða hwile ðe hio lestan willen; Ond ic sello Sigewulfe minum mege . ofer Werburge dæg . ðæt lond an Netelhamstyde. Ond Sigulf geselle of ðem londe . c peninga to Cristes ciri-

can. Ond eghwylc dara erfewearda de æfter him to dæm londe foe . donne ageofen hio da ilcan elmessan to Cristes cirican for Ælfredes sawle . da hwile de fulwiht sio . 7 hit man on dæm lande begeotan mæge; Ond ic sello Eadrede minum mege det lond on Fearnlege æfter Ædelredes dæge . gif he hit to him gecarnian wile . 7 he geselle of dem londe xxx [sestra] cornes æghwelce gere to Hrofescestre. Ond sio dis lond gewriten 7 unbefliten æfter Eadredes dæge in Ælfredes reht meodrencynn da hwile de fulwihte sio on Angelcynnes ealonde. Deos foresprec . 7 das gewriotu . de her beufan awreotene stondad . ic Ælfred willio . 7 wille dæt hio sion sodfæstlice fordweard getrymed me 7 minum ærfeweardum. Gif dæt donne god allmæhtig geteod habbe . ond me dæt on læne gelid dæt gesibbra ærfeweard fordcymed wepnedhades . 7 acenned weorded . danne ann ic dæm ofer minne dæg alles mines erfes to brucanne . swa him leofust sio; And swa hwylc mon swa das god . 7 das geofe . 7 das gewrioto . 7 das word . mid rehte haldan wille . ond gelestan . gehalde hine heofones cyning in dissum life ondwardum . 7 eac swa in dæm towardan life; Ond swa hwylc mon swa hio wome . 7 breoce . gewome him God almahtig his weorldare ond eac swa his sawle are;

Her syndon dæra manna naman awritene de deosse wisan geweotan sindon.

† Ic Ædered ar.bisc. mid dære halgan Cristes rode tacne das word 7 das wisan fæstnie 7 write. † Ælfred dux. † Beorhtnulf dux. † Beornhelm abb. † Earduulf abb. † Werburg. † Sigfred pr. † Beonheah pr. † Beagstan pr. † Wulfheah. † Ædelwulf pr. † Earduulf pr. † Beornod diac. † Wealdhelm diac. † Wine sb diac. † Sæfred. † Ceolmund m. † Eadmund m. † Eadwald m. † Siguulf m.

TRANSLATION.

† In the name of Christ. — I Elfred, Duke, hote (order) to write and declare in this writ (document) to Elfred the King and to his Councilors and Parliament*, and eke to my kindred and my chief men, those

* The consent of the King and Council was required for the *Folk-land* (State-land) enjoyed on lease, or otherwise, to pass to the person pointed out by a testator. Otherwise it lapst to the Crown (State). *Book-land* was in a different position. It was freehold, ædel or odal or alód land. See Allen, "An Inquiry into the Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England, London 1830", pp 143-151; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. 1, p. cm-cvi; and the same scholar's "Saxons in England, Lond. 1849", Vol. 1, Chapter "Folcland and Bócland".

persons to whom I am anxious to give my property and my book-land — that is, then, WERBURG my Wife, and our mutual child.* That is then first at Sonderstede [Sanderstead, Surrey, *Kemble's Index of Places, Cod. Dipl. Vol. 6*] and at Selesdún [Selsdon, Surrey, *K. I. of Pl.*] 32 hides**, and at Westarhám [Westerham, Surrey, *K.* I. of Pl.] 20 hides, and at Cloppahám [Clapham, Surrey, *K.* I. of Pl.] 30 hides, and at Leángefeld [Lingfield, Surrey, *K.* I.] 7 hides, and at Horsaleáh [Horsley, Surrey, *K.* I.] 10 hides, and at Netelamstyde [Nettlehampstead, Surrey, *K.* I.] 7 hides. I ELFRED, Duke, give to WERBURG and to ALHDRYD our mutual child, after my day (death), these (said) lands, with the living cattle and with the soil and with all things pertaining to those lands. And besides those lands I give them 2000 swine, if that she (WERBURG) live with that purity which has been agreed on between us, and if she present to S. PETER*** my two Were-gelds†, should it be God's will that she receive those death-monies††.

And after WERBURG's day (demise), let ALHDRYD take without dispute the lands at Sonderstede and at Selesdún and at Léangefeld. And if she bear a child let it take those lands after her. But if she have no issue, then let the next of kin on the father's side take that land and that inheritance, and let he of my paternal kinsmen that may please and may wish to possess other estates buy those lands of her at half their

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* The original text has uncer gmene b. LYE has erroneously translated this in the plural "nostrum communibus liberis". Gemene is s. or p., but uncer is singl. only. Besides, no other common child is mentioned than ALHDRYD.

** A *hide* or *hyde* was 120 acres.

*** Doubtless the same as was commonly called *Christs-Church*, Canterbury. This Cathedral was dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul.

† The *Wére-geld* or *Wére*, the man-penny or price at which every one was assest according to his rank, during those early periods when every man's hand was against every man, answering to the *Verildi* of the Gotland Law, the *Manngiald* and *Mans-bot* of the other Scandinavian codes, and the *Werigelt* of the Germans. Life and limb were protected by the O. E. Law by the WERE, paid to the sufferer or his family, the HALS-FANG, a fine to escape the pillory, also paid to the relations, the BÓT, paid to the Lord or Guardian of the slain, and the WITE, for breaking the public peace. — The *Wére-geld* of an Aldorman (Earl, Dux) was the same as for an Archbishop, or 15,000 thrymsas, a Mercian coin, probably of silver, used in Mercia and worth 3 pennies. See THORPE, Ancient Laws, I, 187. — The *two* Wére-gelds are doubtless the WERE and the HALS-FANG. See Laws of Edward and Guthrum, last sec. and p. 251, and Laws of K. Edmund, sec. 7.

†† LYE's translation of ðæt heo ðæt færeld age, "ut illa istud iter peragat", is meaningless. I take færeld as equivalent to færeld-gild or færeld-sceat.

value. And whoever after my day (time) may possess the land at Clopphám, let him give 200 pennies each year to Ceortesege [Chertsey, in Surrey, *K.* I.], for ELFRED'S soul, for the support of hospitality.

And I give to ÆDELWALD, my son, 3 hides of Book-land, 2 hides at Hwætedún and 1 hide at Gatatún [Gatton, in Surrey, *K.* I.]. And I also give him 100 swine. And if the King will allow him the Folk-land as well as the Book-land, then let him have and use the same. But if that may not be, then let her (ALHDRYD) give him whichever she will, either the land at Horsaleáh or that at Leángefeld.

And I give to BERHTSIGE, my mæg (kinsman), one hide of Book-land at Læncanfeld. [Lankfield, in Surrey, *K.* I.], and thereto 100 swine, and let him give 100 swine to Christs-Church for me and for my soul, and 100 to Ceortesege, and let the rest be divided thro the minster-houses to God's churches in Surrey and in Kent, as long as they may remain.

And I give to SIGEWULF, my mæg (kinsmann), after WERBURG'S day, the land at Netelhamstyde. And let SIGULF (SIGEWULF) give from that land 100 pennies to Christs-Church, for ÆLFRED'S soul, while Baptism remains there, and while it may be forthcoming from that estate.

And I give to EADRED, my mæg (kinsman), the land at Fearnleáh [Farleigh, in Kent, *K.* I.] after ÆDELRED'S day, if he will deserve the same; and let him give of that land 30 [measures] of corn each year to Hrofescester [Rochester, in Kent, *K.* I.]. And after EADRED'S day (decease) let this land be written and acknowledged in ÆLFRED'S right maternal kin, while Baptism remains in the iland of the Anglekin (English).

This agreement and this scroll, as they stand written above, are my, ÆLFRED'S, Will, and I will that they be truly hereafter assured to me and my heirs.

But if so be that God Almighty hath so ordained, and the boon awaiteth me, that a male heir of my race should spring forth and be born, then to him give I after my day my whole inheritance, to use as to him may seem best.

And whoever these goods and these gifts and these writings and these words will rightly keep, and perform the same, keep him Heaven's King in this life onward, and eke in that life which is to come; but whoever shall overturn and destroy the same, God Almighty destroy his glory and eke his soul's honor!

Here are the names of those men written who are the witnesses of this act.

I, Ædered, Archbishop, sign and confirm these words and this agreement with the mark of the Holy Rood (Cross) of Christ. † Ælfred, dux. † Beorhtuulf, dux. † Beornhelm, abbas. † Earduulf, abbas. † Werburg. † Sigfred, presbyter. † Beonheah, presbyter. † Beagstan, presbyter. † Wulfheah. † Æðelwulf, presbyter. † Earduulf, presbyter. † Beornod, diaconus. † Wealdhelm, diaconus. † Wine, subdiaconus. † Sefred. † Ceolmund, minister. † Eadmund, minister. † Eadwald, minister. † Sigulf, minister.

Now we here at once recognize the same names as in the ancient Evangeliarium.

CODEX AUREUS.	AELFRED'S WILL.
Aelfred aldorman Aelfred dux	Ælfred Elfred — dux .
Werburg min gefera	Werburg min wif
Alhdryd corn[m filia]	Alhdryd uncer bearn,
as also the same	
Cristes circan ða hwile ðe fulwiht stondan mote	Cristes cirican ða hwile ðe fulwiht sio

towards which Ælfred continues to show such extreme generosity.*

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* There can be no doubt that this was Canterbury Cathedral in Kent, whose Archbishop Ethelred (spelt Æðered in Aelfred's Will) signs as the first witness in that document. This Cathedral, in Old English Charters &c. is continually named *Cristes circa, Christi ecclesia*, &c , not as being dedicated to Our Saviour, but as being the Mother Church of all England, as its Archbishop has always been the Primate of the English Church. This Archbishop is again mentioned in an Agreement drawn up by the said Aldorman Aelfred, given by Kemble, Cod. D. 2, p. 96. The original is lost, but we still have a translation in the Early English of the 12th Century. Here again Aelfred gives property to the same *Cristes Cirica:* —

"AELFRED, 871.

† IN nomine domini Ic Elfred dux and Ethelred archebiscop & þo higen at Cristes cheriche habbez wise ared embe þet land at Chertham þet is þanne þet Elfred efter his dage hauez bequeþe þet land at Chertham in to þan higen to ogne eyte an gef þat sy þet higen þas londes enye men unnen willen buten em seluen þanne sellen hi hit Elfredes biernen oþer his meyn suithen suo hi willet an þo yrede þet he wiht hygen arede suo on fyc suo on ferme suo hwader he abidden mage and se archebiscop selht Elfrede þet land a croindune his dages to brukene and þanne Elfredes norsith bitideþ and his biernes þos londes be þisne þanne begete hi hem land gef hi mage at swiche louerde suo þer þanne sy and at þan hygen And gef eni man agt opathe embe þet lande

But that there should have existed, at one and the same period, *two* men named ÆLFRED, and *both* of them of such high rank — one of the very highest in the country — and *each* of them with a wife named WERBURG and a daughter called ALHDRYD, and *both* of them distinguisht for a costly devotion to one and the same ecclesiastical locality, — is, in my eyes, impossible. I cannot but regard the ÆLFRED of the Gospel-Book and of the Testamentary Deed as identical.

There is only one point which suggests any doubt. In the Will we have a son named ÆDELWALD, in the Gift-Writ we have no such person. But he was probably of base or rather unequal birth, the fruit of one of those multiplied lefthanded marriages so common among the higher classes of the Northern races, but not tolerated by the Church, which allowed only one wife, the ÆW-WÍF or MACE. This appears evident from the fact that he receives only a pittance of his father's immense estates, almost the whole being lavisht on "*the heiress*", the daughter, and that in spite of the existence of a legal male heir! — an utter impossibility —; from the circumstance that, if ALHDRYD died without issue her lands should go — not to her brother, her natural and legal successor, but to *her* kindred —; from the peculiar expressions employed, he not being denominated uncum gemenum bearne (our mutual child), like his sister, but merely minum suna (my son) —; but particularly from the ardent desire exprest by ÆLFRED *for a male heir*. 'But if so be', says this Magnate, — with a feeling of desolation amid all his broad lands and rich possessions, and *only a daughter* to inherit them, — 'that God Almighty hath so ordained, and the boon awaiteth me, that a male heir of my race should spring forth and be born, then to him give I after my day my whole inheritance, to use as to him may seem best.'* — Certain it is that this ÆDELWALD was not born when

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at Chertteham þanne haueþ ELFRED yhialde herewynne hwer on eyhwet bi worde awriten is hwam him self hit yþauith to anwolde And þat wes on burg yred binore þan wyten þe hire names hier bineþen awritene synden EÞELRED archebiscop EÞELWALD dux ELFRED dux BIORNHELM abot EARDWOLF abot CEOLMUND SYWOLF EDMUND & halle hysen"

* Since this opinion was first hazarded, in 1847, Mr. KEMBLE's "Saxons in England" has appeared (1849), and I am gratified to find myself supported by his acceding to my interpretation, *which he had seen*. He observes, Vol. I, p. 299: —

"Towards the end of the ninth century, Ælfred, who appears to have been ealdorman or duke of Surrey, devised his lands by will. He left almost all his property to his daughter; and to his son Æðelwald (PERHAPS AN ILLEGITIMATE CHILD,) he gave only three hides of hereditary land, bócland, expressing however his hope that the king would

Ælfred inscribed his gift in the *Codex Aureus*, for he would then have added his name also, that he might be a partaker with himself in the prayers of Holy Church and its Obituary Masses.

Hence this Deed of Presentation was entered in the *Evangeliarium* before the date of the Will, that is, earlier than 871—889.

II.

THE CRAFTSMEN'S PRAYER.

(LATIN AND ENGLISH.)

WRITTEN ABOUT THE YEAR 871—889.

In what rich Abbey or Cloister or Church or Palace of Italy or France the heathen Wikings found their booty, the *Codex Aureus*, and what tears and blood it may have cost, mixt mayhap with raging flames and general massacre, we know not. Of one thing we may be quite sure. It had required years of patient labor and immense outlay — the transparent thin delicate parchment alone was worth the value of a considerable estate — had been magnificently given or bought, and had rejoiced in one of those master-pieces of bookbinding which were at that time naturally provided for works of this costly description. The book-backs were of ivory or silver, beautifully carved, and profusely decorated and inlaid with gold and niello and precious stones. — Now our good friends the sea-rovers were always open to merits such as these. They devoutly admired works of art, whenever they consisted of "red gold and gem-stones", and whenever they could conveniently lay hands upon them. The holy text was not to their taste. They kept it indeed, with a shrewd eye to profit in some Christian neighborhood. They might meet some "Psalm-singer" weak enough to give "clean gold" to save it from their desecrating hands — which accordingly they did, probably at some

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permit his son to hold the folcland he himself had held. But as this was uncertain, in order to meet the case of a disappointment, he directed that if the king refused this his daughter should choose which she would give her brother, of two hereditary estates which he had devised to her."

camp-market they had establisht on the English coast. But the binding — that they had taken care of. As was their custom, they had immediately cut it away from the book it adorned.

Now when this splendid Manuscript came into the hands of the Priests and Monks of Canterbury, their first care would be once more to enshrine it in a fitting covering, probably as costly as the one it had lost. Works of this sort were usually carried on by lay-brethren attacht to some Guild or Monastic Order, or by Ecclesiastics themselves of distinguisht mechanical and artistical talent. We have many examples of this. The famous St. Dunstan, to name only one, was the first Art-workman of his time. The Cathedral officers would spare no expense for such a purpose, and would employ their best artificers. This was accordingly done. And we have written evidence of the fact. On narrowly examining the MS. when I was in Stockholm, I discovered, what had been previously overlookt by every one. probably in consequence of the words *not* being easily read or written in a large hand, the following inscription at the top margin of the first leaf;

[THE BEDE OF THE BINDERS.]

† oratepro ceolheardwr niclas 7 ealhhun 7 wulfhelm aurifex

(† Pray for Ceolheardwer, Niclas, and Ealhhun and Wulfhelm the Goldsmith!)

As we see, all these names are English, and the English Fine-Art and Goldsmith's work was at that time the most famous in Europe.

The cunning craftsmen have finisht their labors. Their work is ready. The Sacred Volume is again encased in a binding strong and resplendent, according to the taste of the age. And, as was often the case, they ask only for one reward — the prayers of their brethren. This is proof sufficient that they were Ecclesiastics, or at least workmen connected with some Cathedral-guild.

But greedy men tore away this second binding also. The present one is modern, apparently of the 17th century, and may have been executed at Mantua when the book was sold there to Sparfwenfelt. It has an Italian look. It was on this last occasion that the infamous bookbinder cut away a part of the Old-English Deed of Gift, as aforesaid.

III.

HOMILETIC FRAGMENT.

(OLD-SOUTH-ENGLISH,)

WRITTEN IN THE 10TH CENTURY.

Some 7 or 8 years ago I carefully ransackt the great Libraries of this City, in search of Old-English Manuscripts. I spared neither time nor labor, but the harvest was *very* small. It consisted only in a few lines of pious meditation. These I copied out, and forwarded to "The Retrospective Review, No. 2, Feb. 1853, London, J. R. Smith", where they will be found at page 206.

The MS. in which they occur is well worthy of further examination. It is written in England, on vellum, in small folio or 4to, of the 10th century, and contains treatises and homilies and some very curious forms for Ecclesiastical Certificates and Passports, all in Latin. It is preserved in the "Great National Library, Cheapinghaven, No. 1595, 4to, Gamla Samlingen, fol. 66, vo."

But at an open space on one of the leaves the scribe has broken out in his mother-tongue, and gives utterance to some simple exhortatory words, as follows: —

HOMILETIC FRAGMENT.

Se þe þyses lytlan nele andgyt niman, ne truwie ic æt maran þæt he wille gyman swa swa he scolde his agenre þearfe. Ac do swa ic lære, lufa God georne; 7 beseoh on þinre heortan gelome to his laran; þon sceal þe spowan 7 þe bet limpan, for Gode 7 for worolde. Gelyf gif þu wille. Ælc man behofaþ gastlices fostres.

Se þe biþ of earde 7 feor of his cyðde, hu mæghe hā cuman gif he nele leornian hu se weg licge þe liþ to his cyðde?

Hu mage we to hefenan rihtne weg aredian, buton we gewunian þæt we oft spyrian, 7 geornlice smeagean hu we magan ðyder cuman?

Soð is þæt ic secge, gelyfe se þe wille. Se gefærþ gesællice þe godcunde lare oftost gehyreþ 7 geomlicost gymeð. Amen.

Qui est ex Deo, verba Dei audit. Non in sola pane vivit homo, sed in omni verbo quod procedit de ore Dei. Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei et custodiunt illud.

TRANSLATION.

He who will not take care of this little, I trow not, so much the more, that he will be mindful as he should of his own need. But do as I teach: love God earnestly, and have regard in thy heart ofttimes to his doctrine; then shall it speed thee, and go better with thee, for God and for the world. Believe if thou wilt. Each man hath behoof of spiritual food.

He that is on earth*, and far from his kith, how may he home come, if he will not learn how the way lies that leadeth to his kith?

How may we find the right way to Heaven, unless we are wont oft to inquire thereof, and earnestly consider how we may come thither?

Sooth is what I say, believe he who will. He fareth happily, who the holy doctrine oftenest heareth and observeth most zealously. AMEN.

He who is of God, heareth the words of God. Not by bread alone liveth man, but by every word which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Blessed are they who hear the word of God, and keep the same.

IV.

KING WALDERE AND KING GUDHERE.

(OLD-SOUTH-ENGLISH.)

TWO LEAVES, COPIED IN THE 9TH CENTURY.

On the 12th of January 1860, Prof. E. C. WERLAUFF, Chief Librarian of the Great National Library, Cheapinghaven, was engaged in sorting some bundles of papers, parchment leaves and fragments, mostly taken from books or book-backs, which had not hitherto been arranged. While thus occupied, he lighted upon two vellum leaves of great antiquity and

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* Literally, *away-from his-homestead.* My translation has been defended by Mr. E. THOMSON, in some remarks on the passage, in the same Review, p. 420. He observes: "The accompanying translation of the second paragraph presents a nice instance of such interpretation as gives the true result of the whole by reversing the sense of each part."

bearing an Old-English text. He kindly communicated the discovery to me, and the present work is the result. By adding the favor of permission to examine them thoroly in various lights in my own house, I have been enabled, as I hope, to give a text exactly correct, and to procure photographic facsimiles of all the 4 pages.

Photographic facsimiles of *old* manuscripts, especially in dialects where so much depends on grammatical niceties, on terminations, where an *e* or an *æ* or a *c*, an *f* or *f* or *l*, &c. &c. makes all the difference, are undoubtedly to be preferred to the best lithographic imitations. In modern manuscripts, or where all is as plain as a pikestaff, the latter are well enough, and where the number printed is large, are also incomparably cheaper. But we must not sacrifice truth and use to show or price. The pretty mechanical copper or stone facsimile is *inevitably*, to a very great degree, the work, the reading or guess or caprice, of the *artist himself*. It is thus amusing to see how greatly 2 or 3 or 4 mechanical facsimiles, taken by different men, often differ, not only in the general air and character, but also, what is much more important, in the details. Very nice wars are sometimes carried on by learned critics, each one standing on his own facsimile. By the aid of the wonderful discovery of Photography all this is impossible. Nature reflects herself. What there is, we have. The resemblance is perfect. It is true that Photography has its disadvantages, when thus applied to literary remains. The older the parchment is, and thus the more anxious we may be to obtain a perfect copy, the darker will it be, and often stained and spotted and cruelly torn and twisted *injuria temporum*. But all this is most unfavorable to the art. Dark and yellow and brownish surfaces give, as we know, a blackish ground, and the letters are no longer so visible as might have been hoped, while every wound or tear or jag and wrinkle produces a corresponding streak or chasm, or line of light or shade. Even a powerful press applied to the parchment is only a partial remedy. But still the great fact remains. Photography is Nature. Altho not all we could wish, it is infinitely better, especially for ancient remains, than the *clear* and *elegant* copy. It is therefore I have obtained photographical facsimiles of these 4 pages. As a last court of appeal, of course the original vellum leaves must themselves be resorted to. But this equally applies to all imitations. — Best of all would be, to have *both sorts* (photographical *and* lithographic) *at once*. But this would be a double expense, and is not to be thought of by a poor scholar.

The history of these 2 leaves is involved in obscurity. They have evidently been used as fly-leaves or strengtheners on some old 8vo or small 4to volume. But how they came into the National Library here, is a mystery. They were not there some years ago in the bundles and collections then brought together, which, as already mentioned, I literally ransackt in search of just such fragments as these. The probability is, that they were brought from England towards the close of the last century by THORKELIN. When that learned gentleman was in London, copying the unique MS. of BEOWULF, he pickt up a good many curious and rare things. His collections and Manuscripts were afterwards disperst, partly by sale and partly by gift, to certain societies or individuals here, or to the King (FREDERICK VI). By degrees, most of them have found their way to one or other of the great Libraries. Some of these THORKELIN bundles have come to the Great National Library, and one of them has doubtless contained the leaves in question. This is the best guess which can be made here, by men conversant with the subject.

Each leaf is about 8 inches high by 5 broad, the parchment rather stout than thin. Hence the facsimiles, for the sake of greater distinctness, have been made a little smaller. The writing is in a fine large bold regular squarish hand, the *e*'s not rising above the line, as is otherwise so common. Contractions there are very few, only the usual 7 for *and*, ū for *um* and ō for *om* &c. In the last line of page 2 there is one Rune, ᛟ = æðel, (land or country). Accents are very sparingly employed, not more than one or two in each page. As usual in old times (for parchment was then precious) the whole is written as prose in long lines, 15 to the page. What is *very uncommon*, there are no points or commas or marks of any kind, scarcely a capital letter, and not even the usual dot after each poetical versicle! This, in conjunction with the peculiar nature of the scribe's errors and omissions (in which he appears generally to have followed *the sound* of the words and not their *spelling*) inclines me to believe that this text has been written from *dictation or recitation*. — Some parts of the vellum have suffered from abrasure or violence, and scars and stains disfigure them; but, generally speaking, the leaves have been tolerably well preserved, in fact better than might have been expected; and, fortunately, the few difficulties cannot be said to affect any one really vital passage.

At the bottom of page 2 is a curious branching and winding knot-and-leaf ornament, within 4 lines, apparently by the hand of the scribe, at all events of the same age.

If we add together the evidence given by the language, which is often archaic, the parchment, the subject and the very old hand, I think we must decide that this transcript was made at the close of the 8th or beginning of the 9th century. That it is a mere copy is evident. Some words and letters have been forgotten, if not a line or two in one place, and at the foot of page 4 we have 'mtoten', which *must* be an error for 'moten'. The *original poem* could not have been *composed* later, in my opinion, than the beginning or middle of the 8th century.

An inspection of the facsimiles will show, that we have not only 2 leaves, — but that the book-binder, the breadth of the leaf being insufficient for his purpose, has cut the quire in two, a little broader than the folio, so that we have in fact to each leaf also a slip of another. We can still perceive, especially on the one leaf, the letters which begin the lines of the other. But unfortunately we have no whole words. However, that nothing may be lost, and that they may be at hand should the remainders ever be discovered on some other bookback, I add what we have: —

Page 1. Last letters of each line on opposite leaf.

Line 1.	n (?)	—	*L. 2.*	tu*m* (?)	—	*L. 3.*	n (*or* m)
,, *4.*	r (?)	—	,, *5.*	t (?)	—	,, *6.*	ald (?)
,, *7.*	ac	—	,, *8.*	ld	—	,, *9.*	lt)?)
,, *10.*	pe	—	,, *11.*	ord	—	,, *12.*	ge
,, *13.*	do	—	,, *14.*	or (?)	—	,, *15.*	swal

Page 2. First letters of each line on opposite leaf.

Line 1.	M (?)	—	*L. 2.*	wr (?)	—	*L. 3.*	h
,, *4.*	g (n?)	—	,, *5.*	h (i ?)	—	,, *6.*	br
,, *7.*	ha	—	,, *8.*	n (u?)	—	,, *9.*	of
,, *10.*	ðu	—	,, *11.*	sc	—	,, *12.*	ba
,, *13.*	on	—	,, *14.*	gu (ð ?)	—	,, *15.*	he (n ?m)

On Page 3 all is cut away. On Page 4 we can only read the beginnings of the last 4 lines:

L. 12. t — *L. 13.* s — *L. 14.* s — *L. 15.* f

In printing, I have made all the contracted letters *Italics*. Thus 'oðrū' is printed 'oðru*m*', &c. The reader can therefore control everything. — Where absolutely necessary, I have added a letter or word which, in

my opinion, has been omitted by the scribe. But these are always printed within brackets [ ].

It will be observed that the two leaves are not consecutive. How many have intervened, it is impossible to say. Hence we cannot know which of the two should be placed first. I have taken the one as first, merely because the Hero's enemy is there *spoken of*; the other appears to be later as the Hero there *speaks to* his foe, who has thus had time to come nearer. But all this is surmise, and can perhaps never be settled, unless we should one day recover more of the poem. — Something further on this head will be found in the "Remarks" which follow. At all events, not to prejudge the question, I have markt the chasm between the two so distinctly, that the reader can have no difficulty in reversing their order, if he think proper.

It is also for this reason, that I have not numbered or paged the facsimiles, but have left them just as they are. *A choice*, of some kind or other, I was of course compelled to make.

TWO LEAVES

OF

KING WALDERE AND KING GUDHERE.

GENERAL REMARKS.

In approaching fragments of this nature, especially from a period very far removed from our own, before the Gleemen and Saga-men of the Middle Age had moulded the floating traditions of the mythical and heroical times into certain groups and tales more or less regular and fixt, it is very difficult to place and identify some few lines of any particular story. We must always remember that myths existed before Mythology. Much of the latter is the specific work of Poets and Schoolmen.

And the task is still more hazardous where many of these olden traditions have altogether disappeared, or are only known by dim hints, by a few proper names, or by some fragments.

But this is strikingly the case with that immense cluster of originally Heathen and Mythical Legends which float, as round a common centre, about the person and exploits of Theodric, afterwards called Amaling, of the race of Amal the Goth, and gradually confounded with the historical Theodric of Verona. If we merely superficially compare the Poetical Edda, the Scandinavian Theodric's (or the Wilkina) Saga, and the German Nibelungen Lied, we shall be struck with the multitude of variations and the numerous traditions which are lost. But if we descend to details, if we take for instance Theodric himself, or Sigurd the Dragon-slayer (the German Siegfried), or Weland (the German Wielant,

the Classical DÆDALUS and HEPHÆSTUS and VULCAN), the differences and contradictions and omissions become still more apparent.

If we now turn to another of these Hero-tales, another episode in the great drama of THEODRIC, THE SAGA OF WALTHER, the same thing holds good in a still higher degree.

We have a very fine version of this tale, notwithstanding certain clerical and classical affectations, in a Latin Hexameter-poem of the 10th century*, the work of a German ecclesiastic and probably translated from an old German Epic. But if we compare this with the other traditions in various dialects and with the outline of his adventures as given in the Wilkina Saga**, ch. 241—244, we find facts and versions often quite distinct. And, to throw us into entire despair, we find the writer of the Latin Epic assuring us, as indeed we might expect from other sources, that he had only brought down the history and exploits of WALTHER to his marriage with HILDEGUND, but that he knew a whole beadroll of tales about him *after* that happy event — these stories having nearly all perisht.

The poet's words are, lines 1450, 1, edit. DU MERIL:

"Qualia bella dehinc, vel quantos saepe triumphos
Ceperit, ecce stylus renuit signare retunsus."

In selecting, then, the title I have given to these few Old-English lines, I have been of opinion — 1st, that they belong to the great THEODRIC-CYCLUS, — 2nd, that they concern the story of WALTHER, — and lastly, that they appear to belong to an Epic which has described his deeds, or a part of them, *after* his marriage with the fair Burgundian.

The indications and helps in the Old-English fragments are very faint. But I have acted on the following grounds, which I submit to the judgment of the reader: —

1. I fancy that WALTHER bears the character of a man no longer young. There is a certain something about him that reminds one of the later Cantos in BEOWULF.

2. He is distinctly addrest as

ÆTLAN ord-wiga
(ÆTLA's (ATTILA's) army-chief),

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* Several times printed. Last and best edition in DU MERIL's "Poésies Pop. Lat. Antérieures au 12me siècle. Paris 8vo. 1843." Best German version by A. GEYDER.

** Last and best edition by C. R. UNGER. "Saga Diðriks Konungs of Bern. Christiania. 8vo. 1853."

which he was *before* his flight with HILDEGUND, when he will be too young for the events in the O. E. Poem, and *after* his escape, when EORMANRIC, as we are told only in the Theodrics-Saga, ch. 244 ("Oc þo fa þeir ATTILA konungr halldit sinu vinfengi með fegiofum, er ÆRMINRIKR konungr gaf ATTILA konungi"), reconciled him to ÆTLA by means of costly presents. The events of the Epic are therefore *after* the Flight.

3. WALTHER is unjustly invaded by GUDHERE (the Scandinavian GUNNARR, German GYNTHER), who *marches from* his own country for that purpose. This must be quite a different event from the cowardly attack on the hero, in his flight, by GUDHERE and his champions *in or near his own land.*

4. In the Latin Epic WALTHER's father, King ÆLFHERE (the ALPHERE of the Latin text, the ALPHER, ALPKER, of German poems) is still living till some time *after his* flight and marriage. But in the O. E. the epithet applied to the hero's sword:

ÆLFHERES láf (*legacy*)

shows that the old king had long been dead.

But should I be mistaken, I beg the reader's indulgence.

Not only is it difficult to *give a title* to a short ancient fragment, it is often no less hazardous *to translate it.* We have to interpret a speech, but know nothing of the speaker; to give emphasis to events and hints, of which we are in ignorance; to give a meaning to episodes, of which we can make nothing. This will often influence not only the meaning of words, but even certain grammatical constructions. There is a plain instance of this at line 56:

hlafurd secan,

where 'hlafurd' may be in the nominative, and will then be an epithet of GUDHERE, or in the accusative, and would then give him a Master! I have taken it in the former sense.

I have only one other observation to make, as to the style and language. The Epic is of course in the Old-English stave-rhyme, the stately metre of our oldest verse, of the Eddic Lays, and of the ancient Northern races and Saxon and Germanic peoples. My translation is in the same metre. We have no right to do injustice to these glorious

memorials of our hero-fathers. But we do so when we clothe their thoughts in the emasculations of modern rhyme and sickly sentiment and all sorts of classic metres. This is one reason why we have scarcely any versions from Old-English masterpieces which can give us any real idea or feeling of their peculiar character and distinctive beauty. Every age and school has its own system, which must to a certain extent be respected. Our ancestors grounded their verse on stave-rhyme and accent and parallel-lines and rich repetitions; all these disappear in elaborate modern versions, however smooth or talented. Even blank-verse destroys the effect. One of our most elegant and admirable translators of this school is J. J. Conybeare, whose "Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry, 8vo, London 1826", is still of great value. But even this charming writer has broken down beneath the metres he so injudiciously adopted. What idea do such lines as these give us of the wild 'Scópes Wídsíð' or 'Song of the Traveler' (p. 22)?

"In phrase that spoke a poet's soul,
His treasured lore he 'gan unfold;
He that had wander'd far and wide,
The Bard his toils and travels told."

But take even blank-verse, and a favorable specimen, from the mild flowing 'Song of the Phenix'. Conybeare's first extract is the commencement, p. 225, 54 lines: —

"Oft have I heard that eastward, far from hence,
The noblest land that song may tell of lies.
Not by the countless host of men that hold
This middle earth, that country may be known.
Heaven hath removed it from the sinner's eye.
Fair is that land, with every pleasure blest;
In the sea's bosom, rich of odorous sweets,
The lonely islet stands. Divine was he,
And wondrous in his sovereign intellect,
The Artificer that gave that land its place.
There to his righteous servants stand unveil'd
In clearest light the joys of heaven's domain.
Beauteous in sooth that land beneath the sky
Spreads its green woodlands: there nor rain, nor snow,
Nor the frost's fetters, nor the blast of fire,

Nor hail swift falling, nor the hoary rime,
Nor the sun's parching heat, nor winter's cold,
May ought intrude; but firm amid the wave,
Still clad in verdure, stands that blessed realm.
Nor hill nor mountain there, nor stony cliff
(Such steeps as those our earthly mansion bears),
High towering rise; nor upland's long ascent,
Nor dell, nor vale is there, nor rocky cave.
Mars not that blessed isle unseemly ought,
But full of joys it flowereth under heaven.

Now take the translation of these same lines, as printed in the Archæologia.* Observe, I only speak of the effect gained by restoring the metre and style of the original: —

Hæbbe ic ge-frugnen	Shineth far hence, — so
þætte is feor heonan,	singen wise oldings, —
east-dælum on,	far to the fire-east,
æðelast londa	4 the fairest of lands that
firum ge-fræge.	man's race wot of.
Nis se foldan sceat	Mo there not many
ofer middan-geard	folk-falcons flock them
mongum gefere	8 to those fields ever smiling,
folc-agendra.	that mid-world's bright main.
Ac he a-fyrred is,	No! the Great Maker
þurh Meotudes meaht,	hath stern it shelter'd
mán-fremmendum.	12 sin-workers from — far!
Wlitig is se wong eall	Daintily dight
wynnum geblissad	is that dearest of joy-fields;
mid þam fægrestum	balmiest breezes
foldan stencum.	16 still breathe its groves thro.
Ænlic is þæt iglond,	Meadow-isle matchless!
æðele se wyrhta	What mightiest worker,
modig meahtum spedig	how peerless, how mind-rich,
se þa moldan gesette.	20 who planted thy mould!

* The King of Birds; or the Lay of the Phœnix; an Anglo-Saxon Song of the tenth or eleventh century. — Now first translated into the metre and alliteration of the original, and communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, by George Stephens, Esq. Archæologia, London 1844, Vol. 30, pp. 256—322.

Pær bið oft open,
eadgum to-geanes,
on-hliden hleoðra wyn,
heofon rices duru:
þæt is wynsum wong.
Wealdas grene
rume under roderum.
Ne mæg þær ren ne snaw,
ne forstes fnæst,
ne fyres blæst,
ne hægles hryre,
ne hrimes dryre,
ne sunnan hætu,
ne sin-caldu,
ne wearm weder,
ne winter-scur —
wihte ge-wyrdan,
ac se wong seomað
eadig and onsund,
is þæt æðele lond
blostmum ge-blowen.
Beorgas þær ne muntas
steape ne stondað,
ne stan-clifu
heah hlifiað
swa her mid us;
ne dene ne dalu
ne dun-scrafu,
hlæwas ne hlincas;
ne ðær hleonað óo
unsmeðes wiht.
Ac se æðela feld
wridað under wolcnum,
wynnum geblowen.

The high door of Heaven
to the happy there open —
song-waves oft sweetly
sweep them to earthward.
O wong ever winsome!
How its wolds stretch greenly
summer-skies under!
Snow nor eke rain there,
nor frost's fell snort-bite,
fire's ruddy glare-light,
hail's hard rush-fall,
hoar-rime's drear-pall,
sun-stroke blasting,
sharp-cold long-lasting,
deadly-hot drought,
nor dashing-show'r wintry —
scathe or shend mo
that sward aye on-biding
beamy and blissful
and blossom-deckt.
On those shores so lovely
steep not standen
hills nor rough heights,
nor hard-ribb'd stone-cliffs,
as aye with us they
eye far cloudlets;
dens nor dales,
nor darksomest fastness;
rock nor ridge,
nor rugged aught earthly
with grim crag glooming. —
But gay still buddeth
that winsomest woodland
the welkin under.

I have made these observations merely in self-defence, and I would add that, in my opinion, neither is prose admissible, except for merely prosaic purposes. The Old-English poetical vocabulary is very

rich and varied, but much of it is *now* dim and rusty, or belongs to half-forgotten Myths. The mass of synonyms we can never equal, 20 or 30 words for a ship or shield or sword — is beyond our reach. And many expressions now trivial or vulgar were once high and noble. This must be remembered. It is in some degree the case with the Middle-English — to go no higher up, — the comparatively modern masterpieces of CHAUCER and WICLIFF; nay, even with the Later English, SHAKESPEAR himself, and the still nearer dialect of our precious and truly Classical Authorized Version of Holy Writ. How much more, with the oldest monuments left us by our forefathers! Some of these fine and primitive or suggestive and secondary words and meanings, the Fixt Stars of our speech, — often vulgarly and flippantly and mechanically sneered at as 'obsolete' or 'obsolescent' by critics too finikin, or people too helpless I will not say *to learn* anything but even to refer to a glossary or a note, they not condescending to bestow *any* labor on their own beautiful language (of which they are unworthy!) where they will often spend *so much* on a *foreign* tongue — can and must and will be gradually and judiciously restored to us. And why should they not? Why should we voluntarily disentail ourselves of such a hoard of treasure? Mere 're-translation' is a fatal error. (Only think of 'translating', fitting for 'tender minds', CHAUCER and SHAKESPEAR and the Bible and 'Pilgrim's Progress' and 'Robinson Crusoe' and 'The Vicar of Wakefield'! Ha! ha! ha!). We should soon be bankrupts. Within a single century, if this tendency were to go on uncheckt, we should lose large sections of our most gifted and characteristic authors, the glories of our land and lights of our homesteads.* Our whole book-language would be disrupted, and would crumble away. It would become, not a Northern-Romance amalgam, but a mere bastard Gallic patois, full of slipshod vulgarities on the one hand and of hard school-bred ink-horn sesquipedalianisms on the other, a cross between the gibberish of 'smart' trade and the chaff and husks of scientific -ologies. What can be more unreasonable than the idea, of late gaining ground among certain classes, that an invaluable word or phrase or idiom, racy and robust, fresh and full-breasted, merry

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* The *right* way is being pursued in the revived study of our Middle-English Classics and of SHAKESPEAR and his School, in the elegant and useful works of Dean TRENCH, in BOOKER's excellent "Glossary of Obsolete Words and Phrases in the English Bible, Apocrypha, and Prayer-book", and other such.

and melodious, simple and antique, is no longer to be used, is now to be refused its place in the sweep of High Verse or High Prose — merely because it has fallen away from the humble store of the half-educated mob or of the listless "popular reader" or of the Circulating-library fed lounger or of the silly sempstress, and that motley tribe who daily defile the Queen's English with a flood of Slang! Truly, the age of Queen ANNE, worshipt by these people if they worship anything, was but of beggarly brass, at best French-gilt. If we *must* have a 'standard', let us stick to the mighty men and golden age of Queen BESS! — SCOTT, DICKENS, CARLYLE, BULWER-LYTTON, TENNYSON and others have already set a good example in this work of *restoration.* But still, *mere* words are not sufficient. We must boldly meet the difficulty another way. When we cannot verbally translate, we must dare — in the mirror and with the music of our Modern English, in splendor and multitudinous variety and strength and sweetness of diction as a whole a tongue superior to every other, old or new, while in terseness and charming simplicity it stands quite alone, — to *reflect* and *echo* and *imitate* these venerable lays. In a word, we must endeavor to translate this whole class of Northern verse, whether Scandinavian or English, in the metre and spirit of the original. Else it has no chance. The poet and the linguist must work hand in hand. I am quite aware that I am speaking as a heretic. Not one in twenty of my readers will agree with me; but I fancy it is because this whole field of literature is almost uncultivated among us. It must be studied and loved, in order to be appreciated. At all events I may be allowed to give my opinion, the fruit of long experience and many efforts.

The dialect of the Poem is Old South English. But, as is so often the case in our ancient Epic poetry, there are traces of its being copied from North-English, that broad Scandinavianizing idiom which seems to have contained all our grandest verse. I would particularly point out 'dag' and 'feta', for which I refer to the Wordroll.

TRACES OF

THE THEODRIC-SAGA IN ENGLAND.

This is perhaps the place to point out to students of this ancient Saga the surprising degree to which *the names* connected therewith have left traces in Old-English Places and Patronymics. KEMBLE (Saxons in England, I, 419—426) has toucht slightly on the subject, but a very great deal remains to accomplish, and, unfortunately, his Codex Diplomaticus has no Index of Persons. I only give some few instances, for I have not leisure to pursue the enquiry, and merely wish to direct attention to these curious details. Besides such words as HUN and its compounds, and the less remarkable Hero names more or less connected with this Legend which may be found in Beowulf, the Scóp's Song, the Traveler's Lay, the Codex Dipl. and elsewhere, I beg to throw together the following incidental gatherings as to the more considerable figures.

ÆGEL. — KEMBLE, S. in Engl. I, 422, observes:

"In the Northern tradition appears a brother of *Weland*, named *Eigil* or *Egil*, who is celebrated as an archer, and to whom belongs the wide-spread tale which has almost past into accredited history in the case of WILLIAM TELL*; this tale given by SAXO GRAMMATICUS to TOKO, by the Jomsvíkinga Saga to PALNATOKI, and by other authorities to other heroes from the twelfth till the very end of the fifteenth century, but most likely of the very highest antiquity in every part of Europe, was

* See the masterly paper on "The Wanderings of a Northern Tradition, particularly as to the story of WILHELM TELL" ("Et nordisk Sagns Vandringer, fornemmelig med Hensyn til Sagnet om Wilhelm Tell") by Prof. F. SCHIERN, in his "Historiske Studier, 8vo, Kjöbenhavn 1856," Vol. I, pp. 40—109.

beyond doubt an English one also, and is repeated in the ballad of WILLIAM OF CLOUDESLEY; it is therefore probable that it belongs to a much older cycle, and was as well known as the legends of WADA and WELAND. with which it is so nearly connected. *Eigil* would among the Anglo-saxons have borne the form of *Ægel*, and accordingly we find places compounded with this name, — thus [K. Cod. Dipl. No. 593, 1178 *Ecclesbeorh*,] *Æg*[*e*]*lesburh*, now Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire; [No. 499] *Æglesford*, now Aylsford in Kent; [No. 549, 1361] *Æglestona*, [now Ayleslane] in Worcester; [No. 423, 591] *Æglesuurð*, now Aylsworth in Northamptonshire; also *Æglesuyl* [? *Ægles wullan bróc*, in No. 1218]; and lastly *Aylestone* in Leicestershire."

To these I would add *Ægel-Byrhtinga Hyrst*, *Ægel-Bertin Herst* (Charters, No. 1041, 1042); *Ægeles þorp* (*Ægeles Threp*, O. E. Chron. ad an. 455, *Egeles Thrip*, Flor. Wigorn. ad an. 455), *Ægeles Treow* (*Aeiles Treu*, in Hen. of Hunt, ad an. 455), probably, as contracted forms, *Æl-Bróc*, K. Chart. No. 744, *Æles Beorh*, Ch. No. 193, *Æles Ford*, Ch. No. 685, and, if *Æcel* or *Ecel* is another form of *Ægel*, which is likely enough (see *Ægeles Burh*, *Æceles Beorh* above) also *Ecles Beorh*, *Eccles Beorh*, *Æceles Beorh*, Charters, No. 1129, 1168, 1178, now Ecclesborough in Berkshire; *Ecles Bróc*, *Eccles Bróc*, Nos. 126, 682, 1369, now Ecclesbrook in Worcestershire; *Ecles Burne*, No. 1102, now Ecclesbourne in Hampshire; *Ecles Cumb*, *Æcel-Cumbes Heáfdan*, No. 157, 461, now Eclescombe in Wiltshire; *Eccles Ford*, No. 483, 555, now Ecklesford in Middlesex; *Eccles Hale*, No. 62, 710, 1298, now Exhall in Warwickshire; *Eceles Ham*, No. 1203, now Ecclesham in Berkshire; *Æcles Mór*, No. 570, now Acklesmoor in Worcestershire; and *Ecgeles Stiele*, No. 1303. There are also the compounds *Ægel-Nóð* and *Ægel-Weard*.

ÆLFHERE (the *Alphere* of the German Epic, *Alpker* in Biterolf), the sisterson of King *Eormenric* and father of King *Waldere*, hero of the Waldere's Lay, where he is mentioned l. 18, 93. The name is common in O. E. history, and also in K. Cod. Dipl., (*Elfhere, Ælfhære, Ælfere, Alfere, Elfere, Alferus*) where we also find, Charter, No. 592, a place called *Ælfheres Stapol*.

ÆTLA (the *Ætli, Attila, Aktilia, Aktilius*, of Scandinavia, *Etzel* of the Nibelungen, by the romancers usually made into the historical *Attila the Hun*). Appears in the Gleeman's or Scóp's Song, l. 37, 246, and in Waldere's Lay, l. 9. The name is borne by an English bishop (Beda, ch. 23; Flor. Wigorn. Nom. Ep. Hwiccia.)

Amal, Amul (Latin *Amala*, *Amalus*), the chief and founder of the Gothic *Amalings*, from whom the great *Theodric* boasted his descent. We have an *Amal-Burne* in the Charters, K. No. 685. Ælfred's Boetius, ch. 1, has, of *Theodric*, both in the prose (beg.) and the poetry (l. 133) *Amuling*, and the Charters, No. 33, 56, 58, give us an *Omolincg*, *Ommlung*, *Homolunch;* (O and A are sometimes interchanged, and H prefixt or omitted, on the same page).

Becca
Sifeca } (the Scand. *Bicco*, and *Sifka*, *Sereke*, *Söwekin*; the Germ. *Sibike*, *Sibich*), the betrayer of *Eormanric*. In the Scóp's Song, l. 39, 231, we have *Becca*, and at l. 233 *Sifeca*. The Charters, No. 994, have a *Bicca*, and many places beginning with *Bæcce*, *Beccan*, *Bicce*, *Biccan*, some of which may refer to the same name.

Ekkisax, Ægiasax (Scand. forms; *Ekesahs*, *Eckesahs*, Germ. forms), the famous sword of *Ecki* and afterwards of King *Theodrik*. We have in the O. E. Charters *Ecgan Croft*, K. No. 621; *Eccen Ford*, K. No. 1171; *Egcean Leah*, K. No. 714; *Ecgheang Lond*, K. No. 199; *Eccan Treó*, *Eccan Tréume*, K. No. 570, 987; *Eccing-Tún*, *Eccyncg-Tún*, K. No. 570, 1298, now Eckington in Worcestershire; and the name *Egesasus*, K. No. 106.

Eormanric, Earmanric, Eormenric (the Scand. *Erminrekr*, *Ærminrekr*, *Ærmenrik*, *Ermentrig*, Germ. *Ermenrich*), King of the Goths. Besides several compounds of *Eormen* in the O. E. historians, we have *Eormenric* in the Chron. and in Ethelwerd's Chron., *Eormenring* in Flor. Wigorn., *Eormoric* in Nennius, *Ermenricus* and *Irmenricus* in Hen. of Hunt., and *Irmiricus* in Sim. Dun.

Fitela (the Scandinavian *Sinfiötle*) *Sigmund's* son and nephew. His deeds are recorded in the Völsunga Saga. Occurs in Beowulf, l. 1763, 1783, and in the Charters, K. No. 1110, where we have a place called *Fitelan Sládæs Crundæl.*

Freoferic, Freothoric, Frithuricus, the son of *Eormanric*, is found at line 249 in the Scóp's Song, and the name occurs in Charters No. 87, 98, 99.

Fritila, Fritilia (Scand. forms; *Vridelo*, *Fritele*, *Fritla*, Germ. forms), *Eormanric's* nephew. We have in K. Charters, No. 1216, *Fridela-Byrig;* (? *Writeles* or *Wryteles þorn*, No. 535, 597); and, No. 35, *Writola-Burne*, now Writtle-bourne in Essex.

Gifica (Scand. *Giuki*, Germ. *Gibich*), King of the Burgundians. In the Charters, No. 641, we have *Gifican Cumb*, now Gifcombe in Wiltshire.

Gislhere, Gisleihere (Scand. *Gisler*, Germ. *Gieselher*), son of King *Gifica*. In K. Charters, occur, No. 1012, *Gislehere*, and, No. 38, a place *Gistheres Uuyrth*.

Gudhere (the Scand. *Gunnar*, Germ. *Gunther*), King of the Burgundians. Is mentioned in Waldere's Lay, l. 46, and in the Traveler's Song, l. 133. The same name occurs in the Fight at Finnesburg, but not, I believe, in the O. E. Charters, unless we may use *Cudering-Coton*, No. 1297, and *Gun-Dorp*, No. 984, now Gunthorp in Northamptonshire.

Gudrun, Grimhildr, Krimildæ, Crimilla (Scand. forms; *Krimhilt, Kriemhild*, *Grimhild*, Germ. forms), the wife and avenger of *Sigurd* (*Sigfrid, Sigmund*) *the Dragon-Slayer*. Does not occur in the O. E. Charters. But I think this a favorable opportunity of making public a hitherto (I believe) unknown extract, from a M. H. G. Manuscript in my possession, written anno 1456, on paper, folio. The extract is from page 3, and is a part of a list or description called "Der ablas der kirchen zu Rom": —

"Item darnach kumbt man zu der spigelpurck vnd do siehet man vil selczams vnd grosses gepews das ich nicht alles kan geschreiben Dan man scheczts das alle herrn von peyren vmochten es nicht zu pawen ein solches schloss oder purck / Vor dem Schloss stet ein hoher steyner stock auf dem ist gesessen Crimhilt Do alle musten fewer do enczunden als die hystorj auss weist von Virgilio dem Zauberer vnd Crimhilden."

Hagena (the Scand. *Haugni*, *Högni*, *Högnar*, *Hagen*, Germ. *Hagen*), in some legends the friend or fellow-hostage or foe of *Waldere;* in others, the brother or half-brother of *Gudhere*. In Waldere's Lay, l. 86, and in the Scóp's Song, l. 43, we have the form *Hagena*. In the O. E. Charters, No. 14, 16, 35, 38, 40, 43, 50, 995. 997, we have the names *Hagana, Hagona, Haguna, Haganus;* as also, No. 1270, *Hagene-Ford*, and, No. 1014, *Hagena-Treou*.

Hama (Scand. *Heimir*, *Heim*, *Hem*, *Hemme*, the *Ammius* of Saxo Grammaticus, Germ. *Heime*), the son of *Gudrun* and slayer of *Eormanric*. Is found in Beowulf, l. 2401, and in the Scóp's Song, l. 250, 262. In Kemble's Charters, No. 987, we have *Hámen-Eg*, *Hámen-Ig*, now Hamney in Surrey.

Mimming (Scand. *Mimungr*, *Mimming*, *Meming*, Germ. *Mîminc*, *Mîmring*, *Memung*), the most famous of all swords, the masterpiece of Weland the smith, and wielded by his son Widia (Widga, Vidga). It is now first found in *Old* English in Waldere's Lay, l. 4; but it is mentioned in a *Middle* English Romance, Horn child, as follows: —

"Þan sche lete forþ bring
A swerd hongand bi a ring,
To Horn she it bitauȝt:
'It is the make [= mate, fellow, equal] of Miming,
Of all swerdes it is king,
And Weland it wrouȝt.
Bitterfer þe swerd hiȝt,
Better swerd bar never kniȝt,
Horn, to þe ich it þouȝt;
Is nought a kniȝt in Inglond
Schal sitten a dint of þine hond,
Forsake þou it nouȝt.'"*

Nidhad (the Scandinavian *Niðaudr*, *Niðuðr*, *Niðung*), the King who tormented *Weland*, is in the Scald's Complaint, l. 8, but not, I believe, in the Charters, which give however another name, similarly formed, *Niðmund* (Kemble, Cod. Dipl. No. 270, 271.)

Sifeca — See Becca.

Sigfrid, Sigefrid, Sigheard, Sigeheard (the Scand. *Sigurðr*, *Sigord*, *Sigurth*, *Sigifröðr*, *Sigisfröðr*, *Sigfrid*, *Sirard*, Germ. *Siegfried*, *Sigfred*, are common names in O. English. But his place is taken in Beowulf by *Sigmund*.

Peodric (the Scand. *þiðrikr*, *Didrik*, *Dydrek*, *Tidrik*, Germ. *Dietrich*), a Mythic personage, afterwards confounded with *Theodoric the Goth*. He occurs in the O. E. Chronicle, at line 65 of Waldere's Lay, in the Traveler's Song, l. 49, 232, and in the Traveler's Complaint, l. 35, as well as in Ælfred's Boetius, &c. Mr. Kemble has the following interesting remarks (Saxons in England, I, p. 422): —

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* First printed by Ritson, in his "Antient Engleish Metrical Romanceës, 8vo. London 1802", Vol. 3, p. 295; but I quote from the last and best edition, — Second text of the English Romance Horn Childe, stanza 30, printed in "Horn and Rimenild. Publié par Fr. Michel, 4to, Paris 1845" (for the Bannatyne Club), p. 357.

"The Wilkina Saga and the Scald's Complaint, already cited from the Codex Exoniensis, lead us next to the legends of *Deódric* (*Dietrich von Bern*) and *Eormenric* (*Hermanaric*,) and through the latter to *Sigfried* and the other heroes of the Nibelungen cycle. The heroic or even godlike character of *Dietrich* has been well made out by GRIMM*, and the historical *Theodoric* the Ostrogoth vanishes in his traditional representative. The Anglosaxon poet evidently refers to the latter, not indeed from the story he tells, but from the collocation of *Deódric* among merely mythical personages. Perhaps, as the whole scope of his poem is to relate the misfortunes of the great and thus draw consolation for his own, the thirty years' residence in Mæringaburg may be considered as a reference to *Deódric's* flight from before *Otachar*** and long-continued exile. In a Saxon [Mr. KEMBLE of course means Anglosaxon, or rather OLD-ENGLISH***] menology† of great antiquity, the

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* D. Myth. p. 346. [K. Note.]

** The Hiltibrants Lied says,

HILTIBRANT haetti min fater . ih heittu HADUBRANT .
forn her ostar gihucit . floh her OTACHRES nid .
hina mit THEOTRIHHE . enti sinero degano filu .
. . . . . .
sid DETRIHHE . darba gistontum .
fateres mines . dat unas so friuntlaos man .

For remarks on DEÓDRIC'S exile see W. GRIMM, Deutsche Heldensage, pp. 22, 24, 34, 36, 37, 201, 204. [K. Note.]

*** See my article on this subject, "*English*" *or* "*Anglo-Saxon*" in The Gentleman's Magazine, London, April and May 1852; translated into Danish, with additional proofs and illustrations, by the learned Icelander G. BRYNJULFSSON, and printed in "Antiqvarisk Tidsskrift, Kjöbenhavn 1854, 8vo", pp. 81—143.

† MS. C. C. C. Cantab. No. 179. "On ðone eahtatcóðan dæg ðæs monðes byð Sce Johannes týd ðæs pápan 7 ðæs martyres, se gedyde þurh Godes myht blyndum men gesyhðe. Done Johannes for æfstum [héht cwellan] THEODORICUS se wæs Gotena cyning in Ranenna ðære ceastre; 7 sum wéstensetla on ðám ealonde ðe is nemned Liparus, he sæde sciplíðendum mannum ðæt he gesáwe Johannes sáwle ðæs papan lædan done cyning ðe hine ofslóh gebundenne on écum wítum. He cwæð, se Godes þeów, tó ðám sciplíðendum: Girsan dæg on ða nigoðan tíd dæges, ðæt is on ðone nón, ÞEODRICUS wæs gelæded ungyrd 7 unsceód 7 eác gebunden be ðám handum, betweoh Johanne ðám pápan 7 Finianum ðám ealdormen, 7 he wæs fram heom áworpen on byrnende seáð on ðysum neáh-ealande, 7 ðæt is nemned Ulcania. And ða sciplíðende ða ðæt gehýredon, hig ymbhydelíce ámearcodon ðone dæg, 7 him þá cyrdon eft tó Etelwara mægðe, ðær hig done cyning ær lyfigende forlæton; hig ðá eft hine ðær deádne geméttton, ðý ylcan dæge ðe his wíte ðám Godes þeówe ætywed wæs. Dæt wæs swíðe riht ðæt he fram ðám twám mannum wære sended on ðæt écc fýr ðaðe he hér unrihtlíce ofslóh on ðisum life. Dæt wæs ÞEODORICUS ðone we nemnað DEÓDRÍC." See further illustrations of this

author, after stating the eighteenth of May to be the commemoration of St. John, Pope and Martyr, goes on to say, that an anchoret on Lipari told certain sailors how at a particular time he had seen king THEODORIC, ungirt, barefoot, and bound, led between St. John and St. Finian, and by them hurled into the burning crater of the neighbouring island Vulcano. That on their return to Italy the sailors discovered by comparison of dates that *Theodoric* died on the day on which the anchoret noticed his punishment by the hands of his victims. The author expressly tells it was *Theodoricus*, the king of the Goths in Ravenna; and he concludes by saying, "That was *Theodoricus* the king whom we call *Deódric*", which we can only understand by supposing him to allude to the mythical *Deódric*. Ælfred seems also to have known something of the mythical *Deódric* when he says, "he wæs *Amaling*", a fact historically true of the Ostrogoth *Theodoric*, but yet unlikely to have been contained in Ælfred's Latin authorities. The Traveller's Song says (l. 47) "*Deódric* weóld Froncum", *Theodoric* ruled the Franks, but this I should rather understand of one of the historical Merwingian kings, than of the Ostrogoth."

This legend is somewhat differently told in the Old-Swedish Legendarium (written between 1265 and 1270), page 700: —

"Wm then tima war iohannes paue. d. xxvi vars herra are. ok war thu aar iiii manada ok stod paua stol tomber viij dagha. *Thidrik Bærn* gøta konunger fanghade han ok swelte til dødh thy at han mente kiættarom messo (sang) ⁊ Han drap ok then ædhla mæstara *Boecium* ok doo siælfuir sidhan. En hælagher man saa hans siæl siuda J heluitis kætle."

At that time was Johannes Pope, 526 years after Our Lord, and remained 2 years and 4 months, and then was the Papal Chair empty 8 days. *Thidrik of Bern*, king of the Goths, caught him and starved him to death, because he forbade to the heretics Mass-song. He slew also the noble master *Boetius*, and then died himself. A holy man saw his soul seething in the Kettle of Hell.

strange tale in the Deutsche Heldensage, p. 38, where Otto of Freisingen is quoted, but who does not give nearly so many details as the Anglosaxon legend. [K. Note.]

* "Ett Forn-Svenskt Legendarium, innehållande Medeltids Kloster-Sagor om Helgon, Påfvar och Kejsare ifrån det 1sta till det 13de århundradet. Efter Gamla Handskrifter af GEORGE STEPHENS, Esq." Vol. 2. Stockholm 1858. 8vo.

WADA (Scand. *Vaðe*, *Wada*, Germ. *Wate*), the Giant-father of *Weland the Smith*. His name occurs in the Charters, K. No. 56, 58, 60, 100, &c. — I will here again quote KEMBLE (S. in Engl. I, 419): —

"Of *Wada* the Traveller's Song declares that he ruled the Helsings*; and even later times had to tell of *Wades boat***, in which the exact allusion is unknown to us: the Scandinavian story makes him wade across the Groenasund, carrying his son upon his shoulder; perhaps our tradition gave a different version of this perilous journey. The names of places which record his name are not numerous, but still such are found, thus *Wadanbeorgas*, (Cod. Dipl. No. 55, Vol. 3, Ap.), *Wadanhlæw*, (Cod. Dipl. No. 18, Vol. 3, Ap.)."

Wælse, *Walse*, the ancestor of *Sigmund* (and *Sigfrid*) *the Dragon-Slayer*. We have the patronymic *Wælsingas* (Scand. *Völsungar*) in Beowulf, l. 1758, in K. Charters, No. 759, and also *Wælsinga Hám*, *Wælsing-Hám*, No. 759, 782, 1339, now Walsingham in Norfolk, and a *Wæls-Leáh*, No. 816.

WALDERE (Scand. *Valtari*, *Walter*, *Volter*, Lat. *Waltharius*, Germ. *Walther*) the son of *Ælfhere* and general of *Ætla*. Now first found in Old-English in the Waldere's Lay, l. 78. The name occurs often in the

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* Line 44. See also Cod. Exon. pp. 320, 514. Ettmüller, Scópes wídsíð. [K. Note.]

** CHAUCER once or twice refers to this in such a way as to show that the expression was used in an obscene sense. Old women, he says, "connen so moche craft in WADE'S BOAT." Again of Pandarus:

"He song, he plaied, he told a *tale of* WADE."

Troil. Cressid.

In this there seems to lie some allusion to what anatomists have termed *fossa navicularis*, though what immediate connection there could be with the mythical WADA, now escapes us. It is sufficiently remarkable that the Greeks made a similar application of σκάφος.

ὦ παγκατάπυγον θἠμέτερον ἅπαν γένος.
οὐκ ἐτός ἀφ' ἡμῶν εἰσὶν αἱ τραγῳδίαι.
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐσμὲν πλὴν ποσειδῶν καὶ σκάφη.

Aristoph. Lysistr. 137. [K. Note.]

To this I will add another note, from RITSON, (Engl. Rom. 3, 265): — "Sir Francis Kinaston in his *Commentary* on "The loves of Troilus and Creseid", says that "CHAUCER means a ridiculous romance . . ., for, in his time, there was a foolish fabulous legend of one WADE and his boate GUINGELOT, wherein he did many strange things and had many wonderfull adventures." He is suspected to have been either a Scot or a Pict (or *Pik*, as mister Pinkerton will have it), and to have been the chief or leader in an irruption through the Roman wall; in which there was a chasm known, in old time, by the name of "WADES-GAPP". See Wallises *History of Northumberland*, II, 3, n (*e*)."

Charters, K. No. 34, 57, 58, 60, 73, 79, &c., under the spellings *Unaldherus*, *Unaldharius;* in No. 774 we have a *Wealderes Weg*, now Waldersway in Somersetshire, and in No. 355 a *Walderes Wel*, now Walderswell in Wiltshire.

Weland the Smith (the Scand. *Völundr*, *Volond*, *Vaulundur*, *Velent*, *Veland*, *Velland*, Germ. *Wieland*, *Welend*, French *Galannus*, *Galans*, *Galant*, *Gallant*, — answering to the classical *Dædalos*, *Hephæstus*, *Vulcan*), is spoken of in Waldere's Lay, l. 2, 74, in Beowulf, l. 914, in the Traveler's Complaint, l. 1, by king Ælfred in Boetius de Cons. 2, 7, and, under the name *Weland*, *Velond*, *Guielandus*, by English writers and romancers down thro the middle age.* Mr. Kemble writes (S. in Engl. I, 420): —

"*Weland* is the most famous of smiths, and all good swords are his work. In Beówulf, the hero when about to engage in a perilous adventure, requests that if he falls his coat-of-mail may be sent home, *Welandes geweorc*, either literally the work of *Weland*, or a work so admirable that *Weland* might have made it. Ælfred in his Boetius translates *fidelis ossa Fabricii* by "ðæs wísan goldsmiðes bán *Welondes*", where, as Grimm** observes, the word Fabricius (*faber*) may have led him to think of the most celebrated of smiths, *Weland*. The use made by Sir W. Scott of *Weland's* name must be familiar to all readers of Kenilworth: from what has been said it will appear how mistaken in many respects his view was. The place in Berkshire which even yet in popular tradition preserves the name of *Wayland Smith*, is nevertheless erroneously called; the boundary of a[n Anglo-]Saxon charter names it much more accurately *Welandes Smiðde*, i. e. *Weland's Smithy*, his workshop (Cod. Dipl. No. 1172). The legend of *Weland*, identical in many respects with that of the Wilkina Saga and other Northern versions, is mentioned in the Cod. Exon. p. 377. Here we find notice taken of his mutilation by *Niðaudr*, the violence done by him to *Bödhildr*, and other acts of his revenge***, all in fact that is most important in this

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* See "Wayland Smith. A dissertation on a tradition of the Middle Ages. From the French of G. P. Depping and Francisque Michel. With additions by S. W. Singer And the amplified legend by Oehlenschlager. 12mo. London 1847."

** D. Myth. p. 351. [K. Note.]

*** Weland him be wurman
wræces cunnade
. . . . . .

part of his history. GRIMM reminds me (D. Myth. p. 351), that the Wilkina Saga makes *Weland* the constructor of a wondrous boat, and that the act of the son may thus have been transferred to the father, *Weland's* boat to *Wade*."

The legend of *Weland* has been localized in many parts of Scandinavia and Germany, and, as we all know, in Berkshire in England. But it strikes me that he has also found an abiding memorial in yet another part of our country.

But first a little ingress.

These ancient mythic and heroic stories have endless variations, especially until they become more or less stereotyped and fixt by Written Runes. So with this one.

Our chief sources for *Weland's Saga* are the episode about him in the Theodric's (or Wilkina) Saga, and the Völundar-kviða in the Elder Edda, — the former the more modern (from the 13th century) but far more diffuse and complete and popular, — the latter the earlier (perhaps from the 8th century, tho not written down till the 11th), but not by far so well known.

Now there is a great divergence here between these two authorities.

In the primitive tradition, *Weland*, after being hamstrung by *Nidud*, was undoubtedly supposed to have been imprisoned on an iland, — whether a *holm*, surrounded by the water of a river, — or an *ig* (ee, ay) round which flowed the waves of the sea, — or an *isle* in a lake — is immaterial. This is clear from the terms employed in the Völundar-kviða, stanza 16, prose fragment (Ed. MUNCH, 4tó, Christiania 1847): —

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siððan hine NÍÐHAD on
néde legde
swoncre seonobande,
onsyllan mon.
. . . . . .
BEADOHILDE ne wæs
hyre bróðra deáð
on sefan swá sár
swá hyre sylfra þing,
ðæt heó gearolíce
ongieten hæfde
ðæt heó eácen wæs, etc. [K. Note.]

"Svá var gört, at skornar váru sinar í knésfótum, ok settr i hólm einn, er þar var fyr landi, er hét Sævarstaðr."

So was done, that cut were the sinews in his kneejoints, and he was set in a holm there, opposite the land, hight SÆVAR-STAÐR (SEA-STEAD).

It is probably correct to translate SEA-STEAD, but it may be also rendered LAKE-STEAD, for the O. N. *sær*, gen. *sævar*, means both sea and lake, as the word *sjö, sö*, does still in Scandinavia; and the other words are not decisive; *fyr landi* may mean opposite the *shore* (of a lake or river) or the *strand* (of the sea); while *holm* is properly an *islet* (near a larger one or the shore).

However this may be, *Völundr* was imprisoned on an iland, that he might have no chance either of escape or of vengeance, and this *islé* and *water* must have been a great feature originally, and must have been accompanied by a *boat*, used when he was visited.

Yet in this same poem — I need not say, only a relic of a whole Epic — no further mention is made of it. All passes as if on terra firma. When the two sons of *Nidud* were curious to see his goldsmiths-work, they came as if SEA-STEAD were land-fast (st. 19): —

"Drifu ungir tveir
á dyr sjá
synir NIÐAÐAR
í Sævarstöð;
kómu þeir til kistu,
kröfðu lukla;
opin var illúð
er þeir í sá."

Came leaping two lads,
look thro the doorway,
those sons of NIÐUD,
in Sævar-stead;
came to the kist so,
the keys ask for. —
Open was Evil
when in they saw!

So again when they return a second time, and when their sister comes that he may repair the broken jewel-ring. Not one word about boat or water.

But in the Theodric's Saga the iland has disappeared altogether. After his cruel treatment, (Ch. 72), "*Velent* liggr nv i konongs garði", *Velent* lies (lives) now in the king's garth (hall or palace-yard). Afterwards he is moved away to a Smithy, which *Niðung* has let build for him. But no mention of river or sea or iland. On the contrary. He bids the young princes go to him walking backwards, (Ch. 73), "þegar snior væri

nyfallin", as soon as snow should be new-fallen. This they did. And accordingly he could prove that they *had* been indeed to visit him, but that they had *left* him. And the king's daughter's bower-maid and the princess herself come and go, as if walking over the meadow or the rock-path. — Yet the idea of a boat (and of water) clings also to this form of the story; for the Smith *comes sailing to* the court of king *Nidung* inside a *wonderful log-canoe*, whereas in the Edda that king *marches* against him with an armed force and captures him.

We see then that the *oldest* tradition was distinguisht by an iland-prison and consequently by *water* and a *boat*. And that this isle-cell would be desolate enough in the grand and gloomy old Saga, we may be well assured.

Now let us turn to a curious passage in an Old-English paraphrase* of a Latin biography of a famous English worthy.

"Ys on Bretone-lande sum fenn unmætre mycelnysse þæt onginneð fram Grante eá naht feor fram þære cestre, ðy ylcan nama ys nemned Granteceaster. Þær synd unmæte moras, hwilon sweart wæter-steal, and hwilon fúle éa-riþas yrnende, and swylce eac manige ealand and hreod and beorhgas and treow-gewrido, and hit mid menigfealdan bignyssum widgille and lang þurhwunað on norð-sæ. Mid þan se foresprecena wer and þære eadigan gemynðe Guðlac þæs wídgillan westenes þa ungearawan stowe þær gemette, þa wæs he mid godcunde fultume gefylst, and þa sona þan rihtestan wege þyder togeferde. Þa wæs mid þam þe he þyder com þæt

"There is in Britain a fen of immense size, which begins from the river Granta not far from the city, which is named Grantchester. There are immense marshes, now a black pool of water, now foul running streams, and also many islands, and reeds, and hillocks, and thickets, and with manifold windings wide and long it continues up to the north sea. When the aforesaid man, Guthlac of blessed memory, found out this uncultivated spot of the wide wilderness, he was comforted with divine support, and journeyed forthwith by the straightest way thither. And when he came there he inquired of the inhabitants of the land where he might find

* "The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Life of St. Guthlac, Hermit of Crowland. Originally written in Latin, by Felix (commonly called) of Crowland. Now first printed from a MS. in the Cottonian Library. With a translation and notes, by C. W. Goodwin, M. A. 12mo. London 1848", pp. 20—23. I borrow Mr. Goodwin's excellent translation.

he frægn þa bigengean þæs landes, hwær he on þam westene him eardung-stowe findan mihte. Mid þy hi him menigfeald þing sædon be þære wídgilnysse þæs westenes. þa wæs Tátwine gehaten sum man, sæde þa þæt he wiste sum ealand synderlice digle, þæt oft menige men eardian ongunnon, ac for menigfealdum brogum and egsum, and for annysse þæs widgillan westenes þæt hit nænig man adreogan ne mihte, ac hit ælc forþan befluge. Mid þam þe se halga wer Guðlac þa word gehyrde, he bæd sona þæt he him þa stowe getæhte, and he þa sona swa dyde; eode þa on scip, and þa ferdon begen þurh þa rugan fennas oþ þæt hi comon to þære stowe þe man hateð Cruwland; wæs þæt land on middan þam westene swá gerád geseted þæs foresædan fennes, swyðe digle, and hit swyþe feawa men wiston buton þam anum þe hyt him tæhte; swylc þær néfre nænig man ær eardian ne mihte ær se eadiga wer Guðlac tocom for þære eardunga þara awerigedra gasta."

himself a dwelling-place in the wilderness. Whereupon they told him many things about the vastness of the wilderness. There was a man named Tatwine, who said that he knew an island especially obscure, which ofttimes many men had attempted to inhabit, but no man could do it on account of manifold horrors and fears, and the loneliness of the wide wilderness; so that no man could endure it, but every one on this account had fled from it. When the holy man Guthlac heard these words, he bid him straightway show him the place, and he did so; he embarked in a vessel, and they went both through the wild fens till they came to the spot which is called Crowland; this land was in such wise (as he said) situated in the midst of the waste of the aforesaid fen, very obscure, and very few men knew of it except the one who showed it to him; as no man ever could inhabit it before the holy man Guthlac came thither, on account of the dwelling of the accursed spirits there."

Can any place be conceived more fitting to be imagined as the solitary and melancholy abode of the unhappy smith, whose *physical* sufferings from *winter* and *hardships* and *want* ("winter", "earfoþa", "wean") are distinctly remembered in the O. E. legend (Deor the Scald's Complaint, Thorpe, Exeter Book, p. 377, st. 1) which is apparently as old as the Eddic fragment, altho these sufferings are omitted in the latter! — (I translate after my method).

"Weland him be wurman
wræces cunnade,
anhydig eorl
earfoþa dreag,
hæfde him to gesiþþe
sorge and longaþ,
winter-cealde wræce,
wean oft onfond,
siþþan hine Nidhad on
nede legde,
swoncre seono-bende,
on-syllan mon.
Dæs ofereode,
þisses swa mæg."*

Weland the worm
of wreak (exile) aye gnaweth,
that high-minded hero
hardships suffer'd,
dogging him daily
dole and longings,
winter-cold wreakment
and misery wounding him —
when that Nidhad
in need-links laid him,
heavy-pressing sinew-band,
him sadly claspt.
He *that* o'ermaster'd,
and eke *this* may I!

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* I cannot help differing from our excellent scholar Mr. Thorpe in his translation of this passage. I think that another meaning must be given to 'ned', and that 'swoncre seono-bende' must be taken differently and are not in the dat. sing. fem. but in the ac. sing. (or pl.). His version is: —

"When that on him Nithad
constraint had laid,
with a tough sinew-band."

First as to 'ned', n. fem. The primary signification in all dialects is of course *need, constraint, necessity;* but it has also a distinct derivative sense, namely (Sv. Egilsson's Lex. Poet. Ling. Sept. s. v. Nauð, n. fem. definition No. 5)

"vincula (ut ἀνάγκη),"

a bond, band, tie, fetter, and accordingly the O. E. 'on nied', 'neode', frequently means *by force and violence.*

Next as to 'swoncre', here made a d. s. f. from 'swonc'. The word occurs very sparingly, but there is no doubt that its proper form in the nom. sing. was 'swoncur', (swoncor, swoncer) 'swancur' (swancor, swancer) 'swongur' (swongor, swonger) 'swangur' (swangor, swanger) — A and O, C and G, continually interchanging in O. Engl. even in the same page. This old termination (UR, OR, ER) is found in several O. E. adjectives, and is properly the nom. sing. masc. (answering to *the Gothic* (U)S, *the Old N.* (U)R, *the O. H. G.* ÈR, *the M H. G.* ER) till it declines to E, and either hardens into a termination common to all the genders or falls away altogether, which latter is the usual course. Thus in the extract above, l. 7, 'cealde' is the older form for the common 'ceald', answering to the O. N. 'kaldr', and agreeing with 'wræce', fem. or neut. But there may also have been a masc. 'wræce', like as in O. H. G. we have a masc. 'ga-rih' side by side with the fem. râhha, revenge, exile, punishment.

In the Exeter Book, p. 220, l. 4 (line 629 of the Phenix Song) we have

"swar ne swongor"

nom. sing. masc., very properly rendered

"heavy nor dull",

But a considerable marshy river ran along this district of Lincoln, past the hermit St. Guthlac's retreat, Crowland. It was called in the old times, before the arrival of the Angles, Lenda, derived by W. Baxter (Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum, ed. 2, 8vo, Lond. 1733, p. 149)

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both words in fact meaning the same thing — heavy, and therefore both of them used for heavy-in-weight (*weighty*) or heavy-in-motion or wit (*dull, idle, slow*).

The word 'swongur', 'swoncur', 'swangor', 'swancor' doubtless comes from swingan, *to swing* (intens. *heavily*), *go swingingly* (intens. *heavily and wearily*), and hereto belong the cognate words swincan, to gain by *heavy* labor, and swencan, to make to labor (*heavily*), with their scores of derivatives and various significations. — The modern swinge (a swingeing blow) also gives the idea of *heaviness*, and swag and sway (to balance or dangle *heavily*), are by means of the sibilant prefix (S) the transitions to weigh and weight.

Hence we see how easily this adjective got its principal meanings in so many dialects:

Heavy,

Heavy with child (pregnant), as the Latin *gravida*, *O. N.* ó-léttr, *O. Swed.* o-lætt, (un-light) &c.

Heavy in soul, slothful, idle.

Heavy in body, wearied, weak, hungry.

Either in continuation of this development, or directly taken from swingan, (to swing, move quickly), we next have — empty, light, thin, meagre — sprightly, agile, *slim*, *graceful*. This is its use in Beowulf, l. 4356, MS. and Kemble's text, but altered by Thorpe to '*swarte*',

"þrio wieg somod
swancor and sadolbeorht."

This is the North English (See Jamieson, Scot. Dict.) Swank and swanky, thin, slender, agile, empty, hungry, and German *schwank*, mobile, frisky, light; cunning; facetious.

The word occurs again in the full form in Ælfred's Beda, 630, 37, as quoted by Lye:

"Na læs eallum monnum æghwær Swongrium and heora lifes ungemyndum secgan wolde."

"Non omnibus hominibus passim Desidiosis, ac eorum vitæ incuriosis, referre volebat."

Here, if correctly copied, we have in the nom. s. swong(e)r(ig) or swong(e)r(i).

In the O. N. we have the form svángr, but only in the sense "jejunus, esuriens, famelicus."

I am aware of no authority for "flexible, tough" (Bosworth, s. v. 'swong').

Let us now take the parallel passage in the old Eddic Lay (Völundarkviða, st. 11):

"Sat hann svá lengi
at hann sofnaði,
ok hann vaknaði
viljalauss,
vissi sér á höndum
höfgar nauðir,
en á fótum
fjötur um spentan."

Só long sat he
till that he slumber'd,
waketh then, sudden,
will-less, helpless;
on his hands finds he
heavy need-links,
while a fetter fasteneth
his feet below.

from the British words LEN DAV, *Plena Aqua.* However this may be, its oldest *English* name was *Welandes Eá* or *Welandes Streám*, in Latin *Aqua de Weland.* Unfortunately we have no document in which it is given in the mother-tongue, but in all the Charters (K. No. 66, 233, 265, 297, 420, 520) where it occurs again and again in the Latin text, it has *always* the same form, in various spellings, *Aqua de Uueeland*, *Aqua de Ueland*, and the English name of which this is a translation can only have been *Welandes Eá* (*Streám*), — *Weland's River.* This is evident from the clerical error in the O. E. Chron. ad an. 921, "oð *Weolud*", (to the *Weland*), a fault imitated in Æthelwerd's Lat. Chron. ad an 895, "amnis *Ueolod*".*

It is now called *the Welland*, the vowel being made short, evidently a mere corruption *from its origin having long since been forgotten.*

WIDIA, probably the same as the WUDGA of the Scóp's Song, l. 252, 262, (the Scand. *Viðga*, *Vidrik*, *Wideki*, *Vedeke*, Gothic *Vidigoia*, O. H. G. *Witugouwo*, Germ. *Witege*, *Wideke*, *Wittich*), a famous champion, son of *Weland the Smith.* In B. E. HILDEBRAND'S "Monnaies Anglos. du Cab. Roy. de Stockholm, 4to, Stockholm 1846", p. 194, we have a

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Surely we cannot but be struck by the almost verbal coincidence: —

THE O. SCAND. SCALD.	THE O. E. SCALD.
"vissi sér á höndum	"siþþan hine NIDHAD on
HÖFGAR NAUDIR,	NEDE legde,
en á fótum	SWONCRE seone-bende,
fjötur um spentan."	on-syllan mon."
on his hands finds he	*when that* NIDHAD
HEAVY NEED-LINKS,	*in* NEED-LINKS *laid him*,
while a fetter fasteneth	HEAVY-PRESSING *sinew-band*
his feet below.	*him sadly claspt.*

I beg the reader's pardon for this long, perhaps uninteresting, digression; but I thought it necessary to clear up this important passage, which is so strictly connected with my argument on WELANDES EÁ, and hope, all things considered, that I may have thrown some light on the subject.

* A word which certainly never existed. There never was and never will be such a form in English, altho BAXTER (Glos. Ant. Brit. p. 149,) knows all about it; he says: — "Erat autem Saxonibus ibridà compositione *Welud* tanquam *Aquæ ductus*". All the authorities, even the barbarisms, have the diphthongal, that is *the long*, E. This he makes *short* (and therefore quite another word) at a blow. So WEL is the same as the *English* WYL, a well, and UD is the same as the *Welsh* DAV, water — and all is explained. What happy dogs the old etymologists were! They had only to follow the sound!

Wudia as King Knut's Mintmaster at Steyning, and p. 232, 237, a *Widia* as Harold I's Mintmaster(s) at London and Winchester. The O. Engl. Chronicle has a *Wudda* at the year 994. In the Charters we have *Wyddan Beorh* (No. 1186), *Widian Byrig* (No. 633), *Widan Crundel* (No. 1101), *Uuidan Cumb* (No. 89), *Wydan Cumb* (No. 570), *Widan den* (No. 506), *Widan Geat* (No. 1069), *Widan Leah* (No. 364, 422, 577), and others, some of which must belong to *Widia* or *Wudga*.

As I have already observed, this is only a little handful. It might be largely increast, and the names of several other of these Knights of King Theodric might be added. But I leave this to more able and more leisure-blest pens.

KING WALDERE.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

OLD-ENGLISH STAVE-RHYME LAY.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

*First leaf, p. 1.

*hyrde hyne georne
huru WELAND[ES] geworc
ne geswiceð monna ænigum
ðara ðe MIMMING can
hearne ge-healdan.
Oft æt hilde gedreas,
swat-fag and sweord-wund,
sec æft*er* oðru*m*.

PROSE TRANSLATION.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

heard him willingly
how WELAND'S work
not deceiveth of-men any

ENGLISH STAVE-RHYME VERSION.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

willingly heard too
how WELAND'S work
man none faileth
who pale-shiny MIMMING
brandisheth bold.
In battle often,
gore-stain'd and gasht,
fore its glimmer kemps fell!

PROSE TRANSLATION.

of-those who MIMMING can
hoary hold.
Oft in battle fell,
sweat-(blood)-dyed and sword-wounded,
the-one-soldier after the-other.

'ÆTLAN ord-wyga!
ne læt ðin ellen nu-gyt
ge-dreosan to dæge,
dryhtscipe [feallan].
Ac is se dag cumen,
þæt ðu scealt aninga oðer-twega
lif for-leosan
oððe lange
dóm agan mid eldum,
ÆLFHERES sunu!
'Nalles, ic ðe, wine min,
wordum ciðe ðy,
ic ðe ge-sawe
æt ðam sweord-plegan,
ðurh edwitscype
æniges monnes,
wig for-búgan,
oððe on weal fleon,
lice beorgan,
ðeah-þe laðra fela

PROSE TRANSLATION.

'ÆTLA'S battle-front-leader!
not let-thou thy strength now-yet
sink to-day,
thy-lordship [fall].
But is that day come,
that thou shalt once-for-all either
life lose
or for-long
power (victory) owe (gain) among men,
thou-ÆLFHERE'S son!

'ÆTLA'S Army-chief!
all this day thro
keep thy matchless manhood,
thy mighty rule!
That time and tide
of a truth it come is,
when thy life thou shalt lose here,
or long-fam'd victory
earn among axemen,
thou ÆLFHERE'S son!
'Never, dear friend-lord —
I fear not to say it —
saw I thee anywhere
in the heroes' sword-play,
thro the coward qualms
of quailing soldier,
wend from the warfare,
flee from the wong,
thy life to shelter —
tho loath'd foes many

PROSE TRANSLATION.

'Never-was-it — I thee, friend mine,
in-words say-it therefore —
that-I thee saw
at the sword-play,
thro the cowardice
of-any man
war bend-from,
or on (the-battle-)field flee,
thy-lyke (body) to-save,
tho-that of-loath'd-foes fele (many)

*First leaf, p. 2.

ðinne byrn-*homon
billum heowun.
Ac ðu symle furðor
feohtan sohtest,
mæl ofer mearce;
ðy ic ðe, metod, on-dred
þæt ðu to fyrenlice
feohtan sohtest
æt ðam æt-stealle,
oðres monnes
wig-rædenne.
'Weorða ðe selfne
godum dædum,
ðenden ðin god recce.
Ne murn ðu for ði mece,
ðe weard maðma cyst,
gifede to [g]eoce unc.
Ðy ðu GUÐHERE
scealt beot for-bigan,
ðæs-ðe he ðas beaduwe

PROSE TRANSLATION.

thy brinie-hame (harness)
with-bills hew'd.
But thou alway farther
to-fight soughtest,
thy-goal over the-march (border);
so-that I for-thee, prince, dreaded,
that thou too rashly
to-fight soughtest
at the camp-station,
that-other man's

thy brinie-harness
with bills might hew.
Still farther, aye forward,
32. fight thou wouldest,
making o'er the march;
so that much I dreaded
too rash and redeless
36. thy rush mote be,
gainst the bristling bucklers
of the banded line
in Hilde's heat.
40. 'Thyself honor
with deeds worthiest,
while thy dignity lasteth.
Care not for the Cutlass,
44. costliest of treasures,
for gladness us-twain granted.
GUDHERE'S threatenings
shall not shake thee,
48 for with shameless insolence

PROSE TRANSLATION.

battle-array.
40. 'Honor thy self
with-good deeds (exploits),
while-as thy good (power) may-last.
Not mourn thou for that make (sword),
44. which was of-treasures the-choice,
given to (as) a-help to-us-two.
For thou to-GUDHERE
shall his-threat turn-aside,
48. for-that he these wars

ongan mid unryhte
ærest secan;
for-soc he ðam swurde,
52. and ðam sync-fatu*m*,
beaga mænigo, —
nu sceal beaga leas
hworfan fro*m* ðisse hilde,
56. hlafurd secan
ealdne ·ᛟ· [æðel],
oððe her ær swefan,
gif he ða . . . . .'
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

*Second leaf, p. 1.

60. '[beado-me]*ce bæteran,
buton ðam anum

PROSE TRANSLATION.

began with un-right
erst (first) to-seek.
Said-no (refus'd) he to-that sword,
52. and to-those gem-vats (dishes),
of-beighs to-a-many: —
now shall-he of-beighs loose (void)
turn from this combat,
56. that-lord shall-seek
his-old (own) land,
or here ere (first) slumber (die),

he wrongfully began
this woful strife.
Scorn'd he the sabre,
sparkling gem-dishes,
brooch and beigh: —
now, bearing *no* gold-ring,
he shall turn from this turmoil,
be-take him homeward,
his fatherland seek;
or fall shall he here,
if he . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
'[battle-ma]ke better,
save that bright one

PROSE TRANSLATION.

if he . . . . . .'
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
'[battle-ma]ke (falchion) better
but (except) that one

ðe ic eac hafa on stan-fate
stille gehided.
Ic wat þæt ic ðohte
DEODRIC WIDIAN
selfum on-stodon,
and eac sinc micel
maðma mid ði mece,
monig oðres mid him
golde ge-girwan.
[G]Ju lean genam
þæs-ðe hine of nearwum
NIDHADES mæg,
WELANDES bearn,
WIDIA ut-for-let;
ðurh fifela ge-feald
forð onette.'
WALDERE maðelode,
wiga ellen-rof,
hæfde him on handa
hilde-frore,

PROSE TRANSLATION.

which I eke have on stone-vat (chest)
stilly hidden.
I wote (know) that I thought
THEODRIC with-WIDIA-
-himself stood-forward,
and eke a-treasure-hoard mickle (great)
of-valuables with that make (cutlass),
many of-another-thing with them,
with-gold to-decorate.
Of-yore as-reward (booty) he-nome (took) it,

which stilly and stealthily
I hid in the stone-chest.
Thought I, I wote,
THEODRIC stood there
and WIDIA by him,
wielding spoils wondrous,
jewels, and that joy-blade,
gems fit for heroes,
golden deckments:
gain'd them of yore
noble WIDIA,
NIDHAD'S daughter-son,
WELAND'S child,
when that he rescued him;
thro the field of the foul-ones
forth he hasten'd.'
WALDERE answer'd,
war-man glorious;
holding in his hand
Hilde's ice-spike,

PROSE TRANSLRTION.

for-that him out-of straits (or prison)
NITHHAD'S maug (daughter-son),
WELAND'S child,
WIDIA out-let-go;
thro of-the-fifels (monsters) the-field
forth he-went-on.'
WALDERE mell'd (spake),
that-warrior strength-fam'd,
had to-him in his-hand
Hilde's (Bellona's) icicle,

guð-billa gripe,
gyddode wordum: —
'Hwæt! ðu huru wendest,
wine BURGENDA,
þæt me HAGENAN hand
hilde gefremede,
and getwæmde feðe
wigges feta!
'Gyf ðu dyrre *æt ðus [?=ÐÚ(R)S] heaðo
werigan hare byrnan,
standað me her on eaxelum
ÆLFHERES láf,
god and geap-neb,
golde geweorðod,
calles unscendc
æðelinges reaf,
[halwend] to habbanne
þonne had wered
feorh-hord feondum;
he bið fah wið me

*Second leaf, p. 2.

PROSE TRANSLATION.

of-battle-bills the-grype (vulture),
utter'd in-words: —
'What! (Lo!) Thou scarcely didst-ween (think),
O-friend (prince) of-the-Burgundians,
that me HAGENA'S hand
in-war should-have-helpt,
and should-have-cut-off the-path
from-Strife's foot!
'If thou dare in THUR'S conflict
to-ware (defend) thy-hoary (white) brinie,

of gore-blades the grype;
the gallant chief said: —
'Lo! didst look now,
Lord of the BURGUNDERS,
that the hand of HAGENA
should help me in combat,
stay the swift footsteps
of truculent Strife?
'An thou car'st in THUR'S struggle
to ward thy white corslet —
lightens on my shoulder
ÆLFHERE'S legacy,
keen and crook-neb'd,
carv'd and gold-prankt,
true and un-tarnisht
since that tomb'd prince swang it,
the glee of the grasper
while his harness guardeth
life's flower from the foe;
soon flashes he blood-red,

PROSE TRANSLATION.

standeth me here on my-shoulder
ÆLFHERE'S leef (leaving, relic, legacy, treasure),
good and crook-nib'd,
with-gold ornamented,
altogether unshent (unhurt)
the-etheling's (chieftain's) spoil (property),
[wholesome] to have
when hood (armor) wareth (defends)
the-life-hoard (soul) from-foes;
he beeth blood-stain'd with me

þon*ne* yfle (?) unmægas
eft-onginnað,
mecum ge-metað,
swa ge me dydon.
'Deah mæg sige syllan
se ðe symle byð
recon- and ræd-fest
ryhta gehwilces.
Se ðe hi*m* to ðam Halgan
helpe gelifeð,
to Gode gioce,
he þær gearo findeð.
Gif ða earnunga (?)
ær [man] geðenceð,
þon*ne* mtoten [? moten *or* mosten] wlance
welan britnian,
æhtu*m* wealdan,
þ*æt* is [bet þonne orlæg].'
. . . . . .

PROSE TRANSLATION.

when evil unmaugs (strangers)
eft (again) on-gin (begin),
with-matchets (blades, swords) meet-me,
as ye me did.
'Tho (yet) may victory give
He who alway beeth
reckon- and rede-fast
of-rights of-each (each right).
He who himself to that Holy-One
for-help trusteth,

when evil ún-kin
to the onslaught hurry,
104. meet with matchets —
as you did *me*!
'But trial and triumph
traceth He only
108. who reckoneth and rendereth
the rights of each.
Whoso in that Holy-One
trusteth for help,
112. in God seeks guidance,
shall get it quickly.
If well we ponder'd
His priceless charities,
116. then we lofty lordings
should laugh together peacefully,
while our broad lands bloom —
that is [better than war!]'
. . . . . .

PROSE TRANSLATION.

112. to-God for-succor,
he there it-yare (readily) findeth.
If those earnings (mercies)
ere (beforehand) [one] think-on,
116. then mote all-we-proud-ones
our-weal enjoy,
our possessions wield;
that is [better than war!]'
. . . . . .

NOTES.

Line 1—8. As we do not know who is speaking, so we cannot understand why the famous sword MIMMING is here introduced. In the sequel, a sword is frequently referred to as *wanting*. This may apply to MIMMING, yet it seems here to be *present*. But, if so, in whose hands? It was, we know, especially wielded by WIDIA (WUDGA, VIDGA), yet we hear no more of it in these fragments. — If this passage signifies that this sword is lent, or might be borrowed, then it will be in accordance with tradition. For instance in Theodric's Saga, ch. 221, VIDGA lends MIMUNG (MIMMING) to THEODRIC, when he fights against SIGURD; and it was once borrowed ("conveyed" not stolen) against VIDGA's own will.

Line 9—59. We here apparently find ÆLFHERE borne down by a feeling of military weakness, or of sickness or despair. His consoler inflames his courage by the consideration that the coming engagement will be decisive, — that his ancient victories are a pledge of triumph now also, — that the falchion (now missing or borne by his foe) need not alarm him, — that GUDHERE is the assailant, and has a bad cause, and has refused offers of peace and friendship, — and that this foe shall now be driven back or fall on the field.

Line 60—77. Seem to be uttered by GUDHERE (who again speaks of an absent or hidden sword), who refers to his belief that the men he saw had come with treasure to him. — The whole passage l. 64—77 cannot be translated with absolute certainty because we are ignorant of the episode or tale to which they belong. They seem to speak of some adventure in which WIDIA has freed THEODRIC from some ('fifelas') dragons or giants or monsters, thereby gaining a gold-hoard, which is given to

him as his reward. There are many such dragon-fights, and victories over monsters, in ancient story. In the oldest record (the English one), Beowulf l. 1753—1799, the exploit usually attributed to SIGURD is given to SIGMUND, who kills a dragon and wins the treasure. Afterward, BEOWULF himself does the same thing, but dies. — In Theodric's Saga, ch. 16—17, and in the German Ecken Ausfahrt, THEODRIC by the help of the dwarf ALFRIC gets the sword NAGLHRING, with which he and HILDEBRAND slay the giant-monsters, GRIM and his wife HILD, and obtain immense riches. — In Theodric's Saga ch. 193—199, VIDGA, in company with but not assisted by THEODRIC and his companions, overcomes the giant ÆTGEIRR (EDDGEIR, ODDGEIRR) in Bertangaland, and seizes his treasure-heap. — In the German Hörnern Siegfried (st. 37 fol.) SIEGFRIED destroys a giant and the dragons, and gets the gold-hoard. He is helpt by the dwarf EUGLIN. — Later song is full of the same thing, under the same or different names. We cannot know whether the English Scóp refers to one of these events or no.

L. 78—83. WALDERE is here not spoken of as wounded or weak.

L. 84—89. Cannot be translated with certainty. We are not sure whether the words imply that HAGENA acted the part of a friend or an enemy, tho the former seems more likely.

L. 90—120. A noble passage. The contrast of war and peace is perfect. It is in this sense I have supplied the 2 or 3 last words — of course merely as a guess. — The expressions at the close apparently imply that the retoucher of this lay was a Christian. This was to be expected, and is also the case with Beowulf and our other olden pieces. But the poetical vocabulary in England, as in Iceland after its conversion, continues for a long time to be strongly impregnated with heathen reminiscences, and can only be fully understood by the help of pagan Eddic lore.

PROPER NAMES.

ÆLFHERE, line 18, 93.
ÆTLA, 9.
BURGENDAS, 85.
GUDHERE, 46.
HAGENA, 86.
MIMMING, 4.
NIDHAD, 73.
DEODRIC, 65.
? DUR, 90.
WALDERE, 78.
WELAND, 2, 74.
WIDIA, 65, 75.

KENNINGS.

BATTLE.

sword-plega.	sword-play.
DUR's heaðo.	THUR's conflict.

(THE SWORD) MIMMING.

WELANDES geworc.	WELAND's work.

SWORD.

HILDE-frore.	HILDE's icicle.
guð-billa gripe.	of gore-bills the grype (vulture).

WALDERE.

ÆLFHERES sunu.	ÆLFHERE's son.
ÆTLAN ord-wyga.	ÆTLA's army-chief.

WIDIA.

NIDHADES mæg.	NIDHAD's daughter-son.
WELANDES bearn.	WELAND's child.

ORTHOGRAPHIC VARIATIONS

FROM THE

COMMON SOUTH-ENGLISH.

A for Æ. — dAg, fAte.
A » E. — hafA, standAð.
A » EA. — WAldere.
Æ » E. — bÆteran.
C » CG. — seC.
D » Ð. — gifeDe.
E » Æ. — ræd-fEst.
E » O. — mtotEn (moten *or* mosten).
E » Y. — Eldum, sElfum, un-scEnde.
EA » A. — hEArne.
G omitted. — [G]eoce, [G]iu.
I for E. — gIoce.
I » Y. — brItnian, clðe, gegIrwan, gehIlded, gehwIlces, ðI.
O » A. — byrn-homOn, frOm, mOnna, mOnnes.
O » EO. — hwOrfan, wOrc.
U » EO. — swUrde.
U » O. — heowUn, hlafUrd.
Y » I. — drYhtscipe, edwitscYpe, fYrenlice, gYf, hYne, rYhta, sYnc-fate, un-rYhte, wYga.
Y » U. — dYrre.

WORD-ROLL.

AC, line 13 and passim, but.

ÆFTER, 8, after. Prep. gov. *Dat.*

ÆHTUM, 118, d. pl. of ÆHT (from ÁGAN), anything *owed*, *owned*, property, substance, possessions, goods, lands.

ÆLFHERES, 18, 93, g. s. of ÆLFHERE, pr. n.

ÆNIGES, 24, g. s. m., and ÆNIGUM, 3, d. s. m. of ÁNIG, any, any one.

ÆR, 59, 115, ere, before, erst, first. — ÆREST, 50, erst, first, sup. of ÆR.

ÆT, 6, 22, 37, 90, at, in. Prep. gov. *Dat.* — See æt-STEALLE.

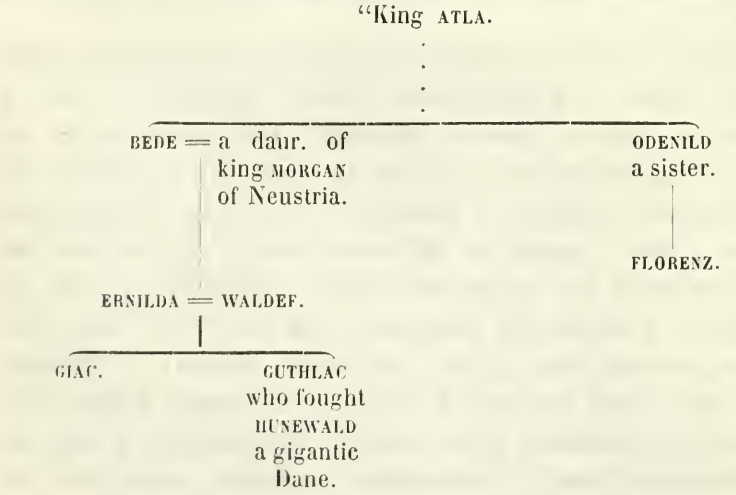
ÆTLAN, 9, g. s. of ÆTLA, pr. n. While this work is passing thro the press I add here the following observations, altho this is not the best place for them. They rather belong to page 28, under ÆTLA. But there has been some unavoidable delay in the arrival of the reply from England.

In Vol. I, p. 42 (Sir F. Madden's Note) of the last and best edition of Warton's History of English Poetry (London, Tegg, 1840, 8vo), at page XLV of Fr. Michel's "Horn et Rimenhild" (Paris, 1845, 4to, for the Bannatyne Club), and perhaps elsewhere in works not at hand in this Capital, reference is made to a Romance of king ATLA of East-Anglia, in England. This is spoken of still more distinctly by the Hon. and Rev. W. Herbert, in his curious and valuable prose work on Attila, affixt to his Epic Poem on that Conqueror. (See his "Attila, king of the Huns", 8vo, London 1838, p. 547). He there observes: — "Whether the Latin MS. of John Brame of Thetford, in the library of Bene't College, Cambridge, translated, as he states, for the benefit of a lady who neither understood Saxon [= Old English] nor French, relating the wars

of [BEDE] ATLING king of Attleburg in Norfolk and ROND king of Thetford, has any reference to the legends of ATTILA the Hun or not, I am unable to state; not having seen either it, or the fragment of the same work unfinished in 27,000 French verses, of which the MS. was purchased at Mr. Herbert's sale, as I understand, by Sir. Thos. Phillips; but I believe it has not."

I was of course anxious to obtain some information on this point, and requested the kind assistance of J. Y. Akerman, Esquire, the Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, London. With his usual courtesy that gentleman immediately put himself in communication with Sir F. Madden, Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, and Sir Frederick very obligingly forwarded the following reply, dated March 19, 1860: —

"I have never seen the Anglo-Norman MS. of ATLA, from the time it was purchased by Sir Thos. Phillips at Heber's sale in 1836. *Certainly* no English version of it now exists, although the Latin translator (John Bramis, monk of Thetford) asserts that the romance was originally written in English (which would carry us back to a Semi-Saxon [= Early English] period) and afterwards translated into French (see MS. Corp. Ch. Coll. Cambr. 329). I myself discovered in Trinity College Library Wrekin, another but imperfect copy of the Latin legend. In the sale catalogue of Heber, lot 1492, is a short abstract of the contents of the French Romance, by which it would appear that ATLA was sovereign of East Anglia, whose descendant [BEDE] married a Neustrian lady, by whom he had a son WALDEF, whose adventures, I believe, are connected with the German cycle. I add a short descent of the parties, taken from the abstract:



"The French Government had at one time an intention of printing the Anglo-Norman text, but it has not yet been done."

It is to be hoped that this Romance, both in its Latin and Anglo-Norman texts, will be given to the public, or at least a copious résumé, when further light will be thrown on the subject. At all events it is clear that, from very ancient times, the name was localized in England — at ATTLEBURGH (= ÆTLAN BURH, THE BURGH OF ÆTLA) in Norfolk, 14 miles from Thetford and 94 from London, a place now decayed but formerly very considerable, and one of *the oldest* towns in England.

ÆDEL, 57, here exprest by the Rune ·ᛟ·, ac. s. of ÆDEL, EDEL, freehold, land, country.

ÆDELINGES, 97, g. s. of ÆDELING, an atheling, prince, noble, chief.

AGAN, 17, inf. to owe, own, have, hold, gain.

AND, 6 and pas., and, also.

ANINGA, 14, at once, surely, truly.

ANUM, 61, d. s. m. of ÁN, one.

BÆTERAN, 60, better, ac. s. of BÆTERA (= BETERA), comp. of [BÁT]. — [BET] 120, adv., better.

BEADUWE, 48, ac. s. of BEADO, bede, war, battle. This word is by some given as *neut.*, by others as *fem.* The fact is, it is both. It is here *fem.*, like the O. N. BÖÐ; this is perhaps its original gender. — [BEADU-ME]CE, 60, ac. s. of BEADO-MECE, a bede-make, battle-blade, war-sword.

BEAGA, 53, 54, g. pl. of BEAH, BEH, a beigh, ring, bracelet, brooch, twisted ornament.

BEARN, 74, n. s. a barn, bairn, son, child.

BEORGAN, 27, inf. to shelter, save. Gov. a *Dat.*

BEOT, 47, ac. s. of BEOT, threat.

[BET], 120. See u. BÆTERAN.

for-BIGAN, 47, inf. to bend down, resist, defy. Gov. *Dat.* — See GUDHERE.

BILLA, 82, gen. pl. (see GUD-B.), and — BILLUM, 30, d. pl. of BIL(L), a bill, axe, falchion, sword, any weapon of steel.

BID, 101, BYD, 107, beeth, is, shall be, 3 s. pr. of BEÓN.

BRITNIAN, 117, inf., to use, enjoy, employ.

for-BUGAN, 25, to bow, bend or retreat from, avoid. Inf.

BURGENDA, 85, of the Burgundians, g. pl. of BURGEND.

BUTON, 61, but, except; Prep. gov. *Dat.* (and abl.)

BYRNAN, 91, ac. s. of BYRN(E), a birnie, brinie, burnie, harness, coat-of-mail, corslet, cuirass. — BYRN-HOMON, 29, ac. s. of BYRN-HOMA, a brinie-hame, harness-coat, steel-covering, armor of defence.

BYD, 107, see u. BID.

CAN, 4, can, 3 s. pr. of CUNNAN. — Observe the idiomatic use of the *singular* (after 'ænigum', d. s.) in spite of the introduction of 'ðara' in the *plural.*

CIDE, 20, 1 s. pr. of CYDAN, to kithe, show, make known, announce, tell, declare. Gov. *Dat.* of *person.*

CUMEN, 13, come, arrived, p. p. n. s. of CUMAN.

CYST, 44, n. s. The *choice*, anything *chosen* (from CEÓSAN, to *choose*), anything fine, good, excellent, most valuable, *the best.* Gov. a *Gen.*

DÆDUM, 41, with deeds, exploits, d. pl. of DÆD.

DAG, 13, day, time, (South-English DÆG). — DÆGE, 11, d. sing.

DÓM, 17, doom, sentence, verdict, result, triumph, power, victory. Ac. s.

GEDREAS, 6, fell, 3 s. p. of DREÓSAN, to fall, run down, drop, droop, sink.

ON-DRED, 34, dreaded, feared, 1 s. p. of ON-DRÆDAN.

DRYHTSCIPE, 12, lordship, power, rule.

DYDON, 101, did, did do, 2 pl. p. of DÓN. This idiom, without a following verb in the Inf., as in Modern English, is as old as the language itself.

DYRRE, 90, thou dare, darest, 2 s. pr. subj. (but also used as Indic., side by side with DEARST) of DYRRAN or DURRAN.

EAC, 62, 67, eke, also, indeed.

EALDNE, 57, old (own). Ac. s. m. of EALD.

EALLES, 96, g. s. n. of EALL, all. — Is used as an adverbial genitive, altogether, in all things, quite, in every way.

EARNUNGA, 114. (The word is not *quite* certain, but there can be little doubt of it, after repeated examinations of the MS.) Ac. pl. of EARNUNG, an earning, reward, favor, gift, compassion, charity.

EAXELUM, 92, d. pl. emphatic for d. sing. We still use *shoulders*, in the pl., in the same sense. From EAXEL, shoulder. 'Me on eaxelum', to-me on the-shoulder, *on my shoulder*; 'standaþ me on eaxelum', *I have on my shoulder.*

EDWITSCIPE, 23, ac. s., cowardice, infamy, shame.

ELDUM, 17, d. pl. of pl. m. n. ELDE = YLDE, men. The phrase 'mid yldum', with men, among men, among mankind, is common.

ELLEN, 10, ac. s., strength, power, courage. — ELLEN-ROF, 79, n. s., strength-famous, renowned, glorious.

EOCE, 45, see [G]EOCE.

FAH, 101, fawe, stained, dyed, bloody. See SWAT-FAG.

FATE, 62, see STAN-FATE. — FATUM, 52, see SYNC-FATUM, under SINC.

[FEALLAN], 12, inf. to fall. (Some such words seems absent.)

FELA, 28, indecl., fele, multitude, many. Gov. *Part. Gen.*

FEOHTAN, 32, inf., to fight.

FEONDUM, 100, d. pl. of FEÓND, a (fiend) foe, enemy.

FEORH-HORD, 100, ac. s. of FEORH-HÓRD, life-hoard, soul-treasure, the life, soul.

GEFEALD, 76, a field, meadow, road, passage. The MS. is here a little damaged, and the word is not quite certain. Possibly (but I think not) it may be redd 'GEFERELD', a faring-way, path (from FARAN), which would come to much the same thing as 'GEFEALD' itself.

FEST, 108, see RED-FEST, RECON-FEST.

FETA, 89, to or for the foot, d. s. of FÓT. This is a remarkable archaism, and, as far as I know, not before met with. In the common southern dialect we have:

N. s. FÓT, *gen.* FÓTES, *dat.* FÉT, *ac.* FÓT, *pl. n. and ac.* FÉT.

In Old North Engl. we have only, hitherto,

N. s. FOT, FOOT, *pl. n. ac.* FOET.

But, by analogy of the

Gothic FOTUS, pl. FOTJUS,

O. N. FÓTR, pl. FŒTR, FEOTR, FOTR,

O. Swed. FOTER, pl. FOTER, FOTER, FYTR (NOW FÖTTER),

O. H. G. FÓZ, pl. FUOZE,

Germ. FUSS, pl. FÜSSE,

compared with the

Gothic dative s., FOTAU,
O. N. » FŒTI, FÓTI,
O. Sw. » FOTE, FOTE, FOTI,
O. H. G. » FUOZE, FUAZE

and with the *O. S. Engl.* FÉT, *O. N. Engl.* . . . (but n. pl. FOET, pointing back to a similar form in the dat. sing.) — and as this OE, É, this vowel-change, is as sure a sign of *the vowel which followed and caused it* having *once been there*, tho it afterward fell away, as the swell and ripple and rush still left on the waters of the usually placid stream is an undoubted sign that *the tiny steamer* which made it has just past on before, — we cannot but expect (and shall doubtless one day find) an Old N. E. FOETA (or FOETI or FOETE) in the *Dat. Sing.*, or, by contraction of the diphthong, a FÉTA (or FÉTI or FÉTE).

And we here find this very word in the old Southern dialect, copied probably from the Northern.

If, as I suspect, this MS. is a copy's copy from a Northumbrian original, then the scribe may have known and respected the old-fashioned vowel termination, and let it remain; but the broad open OE was too much for his Southern nerves, so he narrowed it to the E with which he was familiar.

FEDE, 88, ac. s. path, footway, road, career. The MS. is a little damaged here, but, with some patience, the word can be redd.

FIFELA, 76, g. pl. of FIFEL (O. N. FÍFL and FIMBUL) a monster, giant, sprite.

FINDED, 113, finds, obtains, 3 s. pr. of FINDAN.

FLEON, 26, inf. to flee, escape, run.

FOR, 43, for, on account of. Prep. gov. *Dat.* and *Abl.* (and Ac.) — See FOR-BIGAN, FOR-BUGAN, ut-FOR-LETAN, FOR-LEOSAN.

FORD, 76, forth, onward, forwards.

GEFREMEDE, 87, 3 s. p. of FREM(M)IAN, to (frame) help, assist, further.

FROM, 55, from. Gov. *Dat.* (and abl.)

FRORE, 81, see HILDE-FRORE.

FURDOR, 31, further, farther, onward. Comp. of FORD (FURD).

FYRENLICE, 35, rashly, impetuously, excessively, fast. — This, tho not in the dictionaries, is the primitive meaning of the word. It is curious to trace the way in which a first signification may disappear before the on-swell of a second. The word FIREN (here FYREN) is derived from FARAN, to fare, go, proceed. It first meant *on-going*, going ahead,

and so *excessive going*, violent advance. But this would of course soon acquire a tinge of *rashness*, *imprudence* — and this again treads on the heels of *recklessness*, *darederilism* — and so, on to *unscrupulosity* — till we rush into *crime*, *wickedness*, which last is its usual meaning in O. E. and O. Frisic (FIRNE, FERNE). The same development has taken place in the Latin word *excess* (from *ex* and *eedo* to go) and others of the same class. — So the parallel simpler word FÆR (also a derivative from FARAN), properly meaning *faring*, *on-rushing*, came to signify *sudden*, *excessive*, *extreme*, or, as a subst., *sudden* or *great danger*.

It is from this its first meaning of *rashly*, as thus first found in FYRENLICE, that we have the FIRNUM or FYRNUM in Cædmon, properly an Adverbial Dative Plural (FIRENUM), excessively, prodigiously. This is the sense which it also usually has in O. N., where FIRING-MIKILL is used for excessively mickle, very great, FIRIN-VERK for a wondrous deed, FYRIN-ILLR for a prodigious evil, &c.

The Gothic FAIRAN, to blame, accuse, FAIRINS, guilty, UN-FAIRINS, unblameworthy, FAIRINA, accusation, &c. have gone a different way, words of *faring*, *going*, *seeking*, *drawing* having a strong tendency in the old dialects to become words of *accusation* (to *fare* to a doomstool, *go* before a judge, *seek* justice, *draw* before a court &c.)

The O. H. G. and O. Sax. FIRINA agrees with the common O. E., = *crime;* but here also we have the older use in the Adverbial dative FIRINON, FIRINUN, greatly, very, excessively.

But these meanings, as we know, tend every where to intertwine and intermix. They are in fact the same, but at different stages of development.

ON-GAN, 49, see under GINNAN.

GE, 101, ye, you, n. pl. of DU.

GEAP-NEB, 94, crooked-neb'd, with a bent beak, archt as a *scymitar*. This is the meaning of the word GEÁP in Beowulf, and at p. 329, l. 12 of the Exeter Book. In the latter, p. 477, l. 27, we have the substantive GEÁPU, an arch, vault. We have the same meaning in the Mod. N. E. GAUPEN, two-hands full, GOWPEN, the hollow of the hand. This is the O. N. GAUPN, fem. Of course the root is the word GAPE, to be hollow, bent open, wide &c. — NEB, neb, nib, beak, is here used adjectively. — See the same bird-of-prey image in 'guð-billa GRIPE'.

In the Brussels Glossary (Mone, Quellen u. Forsch. p. 314) we have "*Arpa*, EARN-GEAT." In the more correct edition, Ap. B. to Cooper's Report, p. 36, this appears as "*Arpa* [Vultur], EARN-GEAP." The GEAT is therefore one of Mone's gross and multitudinous errors of transcript, especially as Lye, Lex. s. v. gives "EARN-GEAP. Vultur; R. 38. Cot. 159." But what is this GEAP, and has it anything to do with our GEAP-NEB?

GEARO, 112, yare, readily, easily.

[G]EOCE, 45, GIOCE, 112, d. s. of GEÓC, help, comfort, succor. This word is almost always found *with* the G, which is probably lost by a slip of the pen, especially as this letter was often pronounced Y before vowels, and sometimes fell away altogether. It is better to retain it in this line, as it is one of the 3 stave-rhymes.

GEORNE, 1, (gerne, yerne), yearningly, willingly, eagerly.

GIF, 59, 114, GYF 90, if.

GIFEDE, 45, n. s. Granted, allowed. This word (S. E. GIFEDE, O. Sax. GIBIDI(G)) differs from GIFEN, as *granted* does from *given*, and implies something *graciously* afforded or allowed by a divinity or superior power.

GINNAN. — ON-GAN, 49, began, commenced, 3 s. p. of ON-GINNAN. — EFT-ON-GINNAD, 103, eft-ongin, again begin, recommence, 3 pl. pr. of EFT-ON-GINNAN.

GIOCE, 112, under [G]EOCE.

GEGIRWAN, 70, inf., to adorn, deck, decorate.

[G]IU, 71, of-yore, formerly, once. The G has probably fallen away, as in [G]EOCE. There is no G in the Gothic JU or the O. H. G. JU, but we have it in the O. Sax. GIO, and almost always in the O. E. It appears necessary here, as one of the stave-rhymes. — The word may of course be read IN or NI, but I cannot see how this will help us. IN LEAN GENIMAN, to take as a reward, I have never seen in O. E., which affects the dative, LEANE, with or without TÓ, or other expressions.

GODE, 112, d. s. of GOD, God.

GOD, 42, n. s. good, power, weal, dignity.

GOD, 94, n. s., and GODUM, 41, d. pl., good, famous, excellent, keen.

GOLDE, 70, d. s. of GOLD, gold.

GRIPE, 82, ac. s. a grip, grype, graip, griffin, griffon, vulture, the GRYPE of SHAKESPEAR. Found here, I believe, for the first time in O. E. It is the O. N. GRÍPR, gen. GRÍPS, pl. GRÍPAR, masc., Swed. GRIP, gen. GRIPS, pl. GRIPAR, masc., Dan. GRIB, gen. GRIBS, pl. GRIBBE (? masc.), O. H. G. GRÍFE, GRÍFO (GRÍF), pl. GRIFEN, masc., M. H. G. GRÍFE, gen. GRIFEN, pl.

GRÍFEN [= GRÍFUN], masc., Germ. GREIF, pl. GREIFEN, masc. In the Northern tongues, as we see, it has preserved its original declension, lost it in the German, but in all has retained its gender. The O. E. has therefore been GRÍPE, gen. GRÍPES, pl. GRÍPAS, *masc.*

The whole expression — GUÐ-BILLA GRIPE, the grype (griffin, vulture) of war-blades — is a remarkable kenning (poetical synonym) which I do not remember to have seen elsewhere, and means *a sword of swords.* As the grype, the vulture, is terrible among birds, so was this falchion the most fearful of war-gashers.

The word is as old as the hills in the North, even if prehistorically *borrowed* from the Classical GRYPS, with which it is certainly *connected.* It was applied to a fierce species of vulture, as well as to the fabulous cross between the eagle and the lion. JAMIESON, Lex. s. v. GRAIP, gives a good instance of its use in this correct ornithological sense:

> "And on his breste thare sat a grisely grype,
> Quhilk wyth his bill his bally throw can bore."
>
> *Henrysone's Orpheus. Edin. Edit. 1508.*

Another word has sometimes been mistaken for this. Lye, Lex. s. v., gives "GIU, GIW, *Gryps:* Cot. 159"; "EOW, fiðer-fote fugel. Gryps; R. 18"; and in the Brussels Glos. (Appendix B to Cooper's Rep. p. 36) we have "*Griphus*, GIOW". — But this is the O. N. GJÖÐR (see Egilsson's Lex. s. v.), the Norse JÓ or GJÖE, a fish-eagle or sea-falcon, *Parra Aquila, Haliætus s. Falco*, with dark feet and white head. As all these species however are more or less cognate — the prevailing idea being *the bird of prey or of carrion* — they were naturally used for each other by the poets, and accordingly we have

DÍSAR GJÖÐR, the war-nymph's bird,
GEIRA HRÍÐAR » , the raven of the spear storm,
HNIKAR » , Nick's [(W)Oden's] falk,
SIGFLJÓÐA » , the victory-goddesses' fowl,
YGGS » , Ygg's [(W)Oden's] falcon,

for the *crow* or *raven*, and, as one bird could be used for another,

YGGJAR MÁR, Ygg's [(W)Oden's] mew,

MÁVA RÖST, the sea-mew's path = *the Ocean*, which can go on branching out, as usual with these kennings, like HESTR MÁVA RASTAR, the horse of the sea-mew path = *a ship*, and so on. — The only bird of this class and with a somewhat similar name which is yet tolerably

familiar in England (for Falconry has decayed, and wild birds are becoming scarcer and scarcer — as well as every thing else, good and bad, that is *wild*) is the female GYR-FALCON or GER-FALCON or JER-FALCON, (*Falco gyrfalco* or *Icelandica*), whose male is called the JERKIN; this is our GER or GEIR, the O. H. G. KIR, GYR or GIRE, the Germ. GEYER. — Derived from the same root [GESAN, to drive, move vehemently] as our *Yeast* and *Ghost*, this last word probably meant *the rapid*, *impetuous*, *greedy*.

GÚD-BILLA, 82, of war bills, battle-blades, g. pl. of GÚD-BIL(L). — See GRIPE.

GUDHERE, 46, d. s. of GÚD-HERE, a pr. n. — We have here a grammatical peculiarity which explains the text. GUDHERE is not here nom. or voc., nor is s omitted, and yet the whole is equivalent to a *genitive*. The whole is an instance of the Constructive Dative, a *Genitive-equivalent*, often found in the old dialects, in the form of a Dat. of the person and a Nom. or Ac. of the thing, in connection with verbs of action and motion. As this idiom has often been misunderstood, I will add a couple of plain examples. Thus in Judith, l. 218: 'þæt him þæt heafod wand', that *to-him* the-head rolled, = HIS head. — Cnut's Dooms, Sec. 30, Thorpe I, 394: 'buton þæt man ceorfe him þa handa of', except that one cut *to-him* the hands off, = HIS hands. — Ælfred's Dooms, 73, Thorpe I, 98: 'Gif mon oðrum þa sculdru for-slea', if one *to-another* the shoulder break, = ANOTHER-MAN'S shoulder.

But we will take an example or two with *this same word* FOR-BIGAN. In Cædmon, l. 107, (Thorpe p. 4, l. 15):

Ac him se mæra	"for them the Mighty
mód getwæfde,	deprived of courage,
bælc for-bigde	He bent their pride,
þa he ge-bolgen wearð.	when He was angry."

HIM bælc, to-them the-pride, = HYRA bælc, THEIR pride. — Again in Cædmon, l. 140, Thorpe p. 5, l. 12:

wæs him gylp forod,	"Their vaunt was quailed,
beot for-borsten,	their threat shattered,
and for-biged þrym,	and grandeur bowed,
wlite ge-wemmed.	their beauty corrupted."

HIM beot, to-them the-threat, = HYRA beot, THEIR threat. — So in the Epical fragment Judith, l. 531:

Assyria wearð	That day the Assyrians
on ðam dæge-weorce	reapt agony for insolence,
dóm geswiðrod,	edge-wounds for pride,
bælc for-biged.	gashes for greediness.

ASSYRIA (proper noun, undeclined) to-the-Assyrians bælc the-pride. = OF-THE-ASSYRIANS the-pride.

In the Scóp's Song, l. 98, (Thorpe's Beowulf, p. 220) we have the usual *Genitive*, instead of this Dative construction:

and Ingeldes	"and Ingeld's
ord for-bigdan,	point had bent,"

and had driven back the army-column-head of Ingeld.

GYDDODE, 83, spoke, said, 3 s. p. of GYDDIAN.

GYT, 10, see under NU.

HABBAN. — HAFA, 62, I have, 1 s. pr. of HAFAN or HABBAN. This antique form occurs very sparingly in O. E.; I only remember it once, in Cædmon, Thorpe p. 52, l. 1:

nu ic mines þeodnes	"now I my Lord's
hafa hyldo forworhte.	favour have forfeited."

It is the Gothic HABA, I have. We have some instances of HAFO, in O. N. E., and of HAFU in O. S. E. The common form is HEBBE. — HEFDE, 80, had, 3 s. p. — HABBANNE, 98, to have, hold, use, wield, *gerund.*

HAD, 99, n. s. of HÁD, (hood), covering, defensive armor, harness. This is the primitive meaning. I do not remember it before in this sense.

HEFDE, 80, see under HABBAN.

HAFA, 62, » » »

HAGENAN, 86, g. s. of HAGENA, pr. n.

HALGAN, 110, d. s. m. def. of HÁLIG, Holy, Holy-one.

[HALWEND], 98, participial adjective, making (W)HOLE, protecting, healthful, excellent. (Some such word seems to have fallen out.)

HAND, 86, n. s. — and HANDA, 80, d. s. — of HAND, hand.

HARE, 91, ac. s. f. — and HEARNE, 5, ac. s. m. — of HÁR (HEÁR), hoar, hoary, white, pale, gray, bright, polisht, — a favorite epithet of steel weapons and armor in ancient Gotho-Teutonic verse and prose. Even in our later Romance literature the word is still used, or an equivalent *still stronger* in meaning. Thus in that very descriptive stanza: —

"Than the knyȝte in his colurs was armit ful clene,
With a crest comely, was clure to behold,
His brené, and his basnet was busket ful bene,
With a bordur a-boute, alle of brent gold:
HIS MAYLES WERE MYLKE QUYTE [MILK-WHITE], enclawet full clene,
His stede trapput with that ilke, os true men me told;
With a schild on his shildur, of siluer so schene,
With bore-hedis of blakke, and brees full bold;
His stede with sandelle of Trise was trapput to the hele.
Opon his cheueronne be-forn,
Stode as a vnicorn,
Als scharpe as a thorn,
An nanlas of stele."

St. XXX of "The Anturs of Arthur at the Tarnewathelan", a Middle-North-English Metrical Romance of the 13th Century, p. 14 of J. ROBSON'S Three Early English Metrical Romances, 4to, Camden Society, 1842.

HE, 48 and pas., n. s. He. — 101 (of a sword) He, it.

geHEALDAN, 5, inf. to hold, wield.

HEARNE, 5, see under HARE.

HEADO, 90, see under DUS.

HELPE, 111, d. s. of HELP, help, aid.

HEAWUN, 30, hewed, cut, 3 pl. p. of HEÁWAN.

HER, 58, 92, here.

geHIDED, 63, hidden, hid, concealed, p. p. or sup. of HÍDAN (HYDAN).

HILDE, 6, 55, 87; HILDE or HILD was the name given in the North (England and Scandinavia) to the Goddess of War, Bellona. Thus it was a Mythic personification. But, like other words of this class, it was also often used *unpersonified*, for war, battle, fight. The distinction must be carefully remembered in reading our oldest verse, as the splendor of the passage often depends upon it. — HILDE-FRORE, 81, ac. s. The word FRORE I have not before seen in O. E., in which we have only recorded the p. t. pl. FRURON, p. p. FROREN (Engl. FRORE), and adj. FREORIG (Engl. FRORY). All the other forms are in s (FREOSAN, to freeze, FROST, &c.). We thus meet for the first time the subst. FRORE, answering to the O. N. FRERI, *masc.*, ice, frozen ground, cold, pl. FRERAR. In East-Iceland (see Egilsson, Lex. Poet. s. v. FRERAR) there is a *neut.* HÓLM-FRER, holm-frore, shore-ice. The O. E. word is therefore probably FRORE, gen. FRORES, pl. FRORAS, *masc.*, frost, ice, icicle, cold.

The whole compound is a noble kenning, metaphorical counterpart, for *a sword*. We have exactly similar ones in O. N. Thus:

BÖÐVAR JÖKULL (which would be in O. E. BEADU-GICEL) *Battle-icicle* = a sword;

GUNN-ÍSS or GUNNAR ÍSS (would be in O. E. GÚÐ-ÍS) *War-ice* = a sword;

HLAKKAR ÍS (HLÖKK, gen. HLAKKAR, was a Scandinavian war-goddess) *Hlökk's ice* = a sword.

In the same spirit *a shield* is called ÁLMDROSAR ÍSS, RANDA ÍS, &c.

The epithet has been suggested by the chilly shivering deathly feeling caused by the touch of "cold iron".

We can now better understand the fine image in Beowulf, (l. 3217, Thorpe), when the wondrous giant-made cutlass 'eald sweord eótenisc' 'giganta geweorc', which he had seized in the deep sea-halls of GRENDEL's Mother, begins to melt with the etter, the rancorous poison, of her blood: —

þá þæt sweord ongan	"Then that sword began
æfter heaþo-swáte,	after with battle-gore
hilde-gicelum,	in icicles of blood,
wig-bil wanian.	that war falchion to fade away."

HIM, 69, 110, him, them, d. s. or pl. of HE. — HINE, 72, HYNE, 1, him, ac. s. of HE. Of course it may also be used reflectively, himself (the Scand. SIG). It will then apply to the nom. WIDIA (l. 75), not to the ac. DEODRIC understood. It is all obscure here.

HLAFURD, 56, n. s. (Loaf-ord, loaf-source, bread-giver), lord, laird, chief, captain.

HOMON, 29, see under BYRNAN.

HORD, 100, see FEORH-HORD.

HURU, 2, how; — 84, anyhow, howsoever, at all, surely, truly — seriously or, ironically, = not at all, didst thou really? — The sense depends on the context. I am not sure that my translation is correct, as we do not know the particulars.

HWET!, 84, What! Lò! This exclamation is scarcely yet extinct. SHAKESPEAR has it, in his Mer. Wives of Windsor, (First Sketch, 1602, 4to, Shakespear Soc. reprint, p. 30):

"What[!] wines may be merry, and yet honest too."

This WHAT is struck out in the enlarged edition of the play.

gehwilces, 109, g. s. m. of gehwylc, (whilk,) each, each one.

hworfan, 55, inf. to (wherf, wharf, wherve), turn, bend, flee.

hyne, 1, see under him.

hyrde, 1, heard, s. p. of hyran.

ic, 19 and pas., n. s., I.

is, 13, is, 3 s. pr. of wesan.

iu, 17, see [g]iu.

lætan. — let, 10, 2 s. imper. of lætan, to let, permit. — ut-for-let, 75, out-let, let out, let go out, 3 s. p. of ut-for-lætan.

láf, 93, a lafe, lave, leaving, anything left, remainder, particularly after death, a legacy, treasure (left), family property, heirloom. This word is particularly applied by the poets to that costliest heirloom — a well-tried and famous *hero-sword.*

We find this expression used in old times in Scandinavia (especially Denmark, where it has still left hundreds of place-names) — O. N. leif, leifar, O. D. lef, Mod. D. lev, leve — as the appellation of lands or grounds or real property. But this -lev or -lef doubtless included, not the *mere* idea of *leaving* or *left*, but also that of estate which *could* be left, *heritable* estate, odel or odal or bookland, as distinguisht from folkland, state-land, which could not be left at all by will. In this sense it was therefore, like that similar word in Sweden — 'ærve', — 'arf', — 'arfvet' or — 'erve' &c., pretty much the same as our modern *freehold, manor, domain*, &c.

lange, 16, long, for a long time; adv.

ladra, 28, g. pl. of láð, loathed, hated, foe, enemy.

lean, 71, ac. s. of leán, (lane), reward, prize, price.

leas, 54, loose, void, deprived, empty. Gov. a *Gen.*

for-leosan, 15, inf., to lose.

ut-for-let, 75, see under letan.

lice, 27, d. s. of líc, lyke, litch, body. In Modern English the word lyke or litch, which is happily now becoming common again, only means a *dead* body. It originally meant the body, whether living or dead.

lif, 15, ac. s. of líf, life.

gelifed, 111, 3 s. pr. of lífan, to leave, trust, depend, confide. This verb is here followed by 3 datives, 1, the personal reflective him

(equivalent to HINE, SIG), 2, HELPE, for help, and 3, the person trusted in, 'ðam Halgan', gov. by 'tó'.

MÆG, 106, see under MÁGAN.

MEG, 73, n. s., a maug, daughter-son (as here); son-in-law; kinsman in general. — un-MEGAS, 102, n. pl. of UNMÈG, an un-maug, un-kin, un-kindred, no relation, a stranger, an enemy.

MÆL, 33, ac. s. of the neut. MÆL. It is here used in an uncommon sense, *goal*, object, mark or place aimed at (found in the word MÆL-TANG, compasses), and is the O. N. MÁL (MEL, MÆL), Swed. and Dan. MÅL.

MÆNIGO, 53, ac. s. of MÆNIGO, fem., a meiny, many, crowd, multitude.

MÁGAN. — MÆG, 106, may, can, is able, 3 s. pr.

[MAN], 115, [seems to have fallen out, as the verb is singular, and GE would make it plural.] Man, one.

MADELODE, 78, 3 s. p. of MADELIAN, to (mell, maddle), speak, say, utter.

MADMA, 44, 68, g. pl. of MÁD(U)M, a treasure, valuable, rarity, gift.

ME, 92, to me, dat. s. — and, 86, me, ac. s. of IC.

MEARCE, 33, d. s. of MEARC, fem., a mark, march, marches, border, limit.

MECE, 43, 68, abl. s. — and MECUM, 100, d. pl. — of MECE, a make, matchet, sword, falchion, knife, cutlass. The word is found in many languages. — See [BEADO-ME]CE.

geMETAD, 100, meet, assail, attack, 3 pl. pr. of MÉTAN.

METOD, 34, prince! — A very remarkable and antique use of the word. It comes from the verb METAN, to mete, measure, divide, cut off, deal out (food, arms &c.) arrange, appoint, fix, rule, govern, and would first signify the house-chief, as the governor of his family, servants, warriors, slaves &c. Hence it came to signify *master, lord, sir, my chief*, or, as we say, *your lordship, my lord!* — Afterwards it became extended to a title of highest honor, and was *exclusively* used in later times as an epithet *of the Deity*, not *lord* but LORD, LORD-GOD, CREATOR, ALMIGHTY.

It is this primitive sense of *dividing* which guides us thro the apparently contradictory meanings this word has in O. N., where MJÖTUÐR is both *divider* and a *sword* and *death* (the cutter-off) and *helper*,

which latter almost coincides with the O. E. METOD. See Egilsson, Lex. s. v. — In O. Sax. the word (METOD) also occurs (Heliand), signifying, as in later O. E., Creator, God.

Its antique use in this passage explains a difficulty in Beowulf, l. 5046, Thorpe:

swá unc wyrd geteóð,	"as Fate shall to us decree,
metod manna gehwæs.	the lord of every man."

These lines are doubtless heathen in form and origin. But even in Heathendom it was quite unheard-of to describe Fate as the Divine Lord of man. Accordingly, if we interpret them *in the heathen sense*, Thorpe's translation may stand. Else the proper word here for 'metod' would be *Mistress*, for WYRD was a female divinity or nymph. But, whether the Chief God, the Father of Gods and Men, All-Father, were called Jupiter or (W)Oden, Destiny was always regarded as His servant, the executor of His Will, which *was finally in His own power*. Hence the Greeks called *Μοῖρα* (the Divider) and *Αἶσα* (the pronouncer) *Διὸς Βουλή*, *Διὸς αἶσα*, *Μοῖρα θεῶν*, and Zeus himself was *Μοιραγέτης* — the Leader of the *Μοῖραι*. So the Parcæ of the Romans were Birth-fays, foretelling the Will of Heaven, and their *Fatum* (Spoken Word, the *Fay* of the Romance Nations, from *fari* to speak) was simply *the Voice* of Jupiter. And equally so of the Norns and Völvur of Scandinavia.

WYRD then (our modern WEIRD) is the *lord* (*mistress*) of each man, but *the Servant* and *exprest Will* of THE LORD, THE ALMIGHTY; and the METOD of this passage in Beowulf must be taken in this its antique signification.

MICEL, 67, mickle, much, great.

MID, 17, 49, 68, 69, with, (another form of the prep. WID). Usually gov. *Dat.*

MIMMING, 4, ac. s. m., the famous sword made by WELAND.

MIN, 19, n. s., mine, my.

MONIG, 69, many, n. or ac. absolute of multitude, governing gen. 'oðres'. This idiom, found in the old dialects, is sometimes, as here, difficult of translation. It may stand as nom. or as ac., and may mean *many another man*, *many another thing*, or *many other men and things*. This whole passage is, as already observed, very obscure. If 'monig oðres' be here ac., it apparently follows 'gegirwan'.

MONNES, 24, 38, g. s. — and MONNA, 3, g. pl. — of MON, a man.

MTOTEN, 116, probably an error for MÓTEN, 3 pl. pr., may, mote, or for MÓSTEN, might, mote, 3 pl. p. of MÓT.

MURN, 43, 2 s. imper. of MURNAN, to mourn, grieve or care for, regard.

NALLES, 19, not-the-less, not-at-all, by no means. Contr. from NA (NE) DY LES.

GENAM, 71, took, 3 s. p. of NIMAN, to nim, seize, obtain.

NE, 3 and pas., not.

NEARWUM, 72, d. pl. of NEARO, narrow, pinching. When used substantively, in the s. or pl. this word often means *narrows*, *straits*, *difficulties*, *troubles*, — or a *narrow place*, *care*, *prison* &c.

NEB, 94, see GEAP-NEB.

NIDHADES, 73, g. s. of NIDHAD, n. pr.

NU, 54, now. — NU-GYT, 10, now yet, as yet. This seems to be the word, but the last letters are very faint, especially the 't'.

OF, 72, of, off, from, out of. Prep. gov. *Dat.* (and abl.)

OFER, 33, over, beyond. Prep. gov. *Dat.* (and ac.)

OFT, 6, oft, often.

ON, 26, 62, 80, 92, on, upon; in, within. Prep. gov. *Dat.* (and ac.) — See ON-DRED, ON-GAN, eft-on-GINNAD, ON-STODON.

ONETTE, 77, he on'd, went on, hasten'd on, advanced quickly, 3 s. p. of ONETTAN.

[OR-LÆG], 119, war, fight, warfare.

ORD-WYGA, 9, n. s., battalion-head-warrior, commander-in-chief.

ODER. — ODRES, 38, 69, g. s. m. of ODER, another. — ODRUM, 8, d. s. m. — ODER-TWEGA, 14, one of twain, one of the two, g. pl. of ODER-TWEGEN.

ODDE, 16, 26, 58, or.

PLEGAN, 22, see under SWEORD-PLEGAN.

RED-FEST, 108, rede-fast, firm in good council, fast in affording good help, a rewarder. Gov. *gen.*

REDENNE, 39, see WIG-REDENNE.

REAF, 97, ac. s. of REAF, rief, reaving, spoil, rich weapon or garment.

RECCE, 42, 3 s. pr. subj. of RECCAN, to reach, stretch, endure, last.

RECON-FEST, 108, — (according to the Old Northern idiom, which is still kept up in England as in Scandinavia, altho *we* now unfortunately no longer mark the hyphen between the words, an epithet need not be repeated to every word to which it belongs, — reckon-fast, a firm true reckoner. Gov. *Gen.*

ROF, 79, see ELLEN-ROF.

RYHTA, 109, g. pl. of RYHT, right, just claim, privilege, merit. — un-RYHTE, 49, d. s. of UN-RYHT, unright, injustice; 'mid unryhte' wrongfully, unjustly.

gesAWE, 21, I saw, 1 s. p. of SEÓN.

SCEAL, 54, shall, 3 s. pr. — and SCEALT, 14, 47, shalt, 2 s. pr. — of SCULAN.

un-SCENDE, 96, adj., un-shent, un-stained, un-hurt, un-disgraced, honorable.

SE, 13, the, n. s. m. art. def. — SE-ÐE, 107, 110, he that, that one who, he who.

SEC, 8, n. s., a (sege, segge,) warrior, knight, man.

SECAN, 50, 56, inf., to seek, follow, seek out, go back to.

SELF. — SELFUM, 66, d. s. m. — and SELFNE, 40, ac. s. m. — of SELF, self.

SIGE, 106, ac. s. of SIGE, victory, conquest, triumph.

SINC, 67, n. s., (a *sink*, anything *sinkt*, brought together) a hoard, treasure, a valuable heap, riches. Gov. *Gen.* — SYNC-FATUM, 52, d. pl. of SINC-FÆT, (a sink-fat, hoard-vat,) treasure-trough, jewel-dish, gem-plate, valuable beaker or cup.

for-SOC, 51, 3 s. p. of FOR-SACAN, to forsake, oppose, refuse, reject, deny. Gov. *Dat.* (and Ac.)

SOHTEST, 32, 36, didst seek, 2 s. p. of SÉCAN.

STAN-FATE, 62, d. s. of STAN-FAT or FÆT, a stone fat or vat or trough or chest or case.

STANDAN. — STANDAÐ, 92, stands, is 3 s. pr. (North-English form, instead of the South English STANDED or STENT) of the verb STANDAN. 'Standaþ me' I have. — on-STODON, 66, on-stood, stood by or near, came on, 3 pl. p. of ON-STANDAN.

æt-STEALLE, 37, d. s. m. of ÆT-STEAL, an at-stell, stell or stall or stead at a place, a fixt place, a station, camp-place, military post. The

word is not in the dictionaries. It occurs in the Exeter Book, Thorpe p. 112, l. 26, where GUTHLAC's spiritual combat is spoken of: —

siþþan biorg gestah
eadig oretta
and wiges heard
gyrede hine georne mid
gæstlicum wæpnum
wong bletsade
. . . . . .
him to æt-stælle
ærest arærde
cristes rode.

"after that the hill ascended
the blessed champion;
and, bold in war,
had himself girded zealously with
ghostly weapons;
bless'd the plain
. . . . . .
for his refection place,
first rear'd up
Christ's rood."

['mid', above, should go with the next line].

Here "refection-place" is evidently quite out of keeping. The parallel passage in GUTHLAC's Prose Life (Goodwin, p. 24) is, in like manner, altogether military:

"Hæfde he þa on ylde six and twentig wintra þa he ærest se Godes cempa on þam westene mid heofenlicre gife geweorðod gesæt. Þa sona wið þam scotungum þara werigra gasta þæt he hine mid gastlicum wæpnum gescylde, he nam þone scyld þæs Halgan Gastes geleafan; and hyne on þære byrnan gegearowode þæs heofonlican hihtes; and he him dyde heolm on heafod clænera geþanca; and mid him strælum þæs halgan sealmsanges á singallice wið þam awerigedum gastum sceotode and campode."

"He was six and twenty years of age when, endowed with heavenly grace, God's soldier first settled in the wilderness. Then straightway, that he might arm himself against the attacks of the wicked spirits with spiritual weapons, he took the shield of the Holy Spirit, faith; and clothed himself in the armour of heavenly hope; and put on his head the helmet of chaste thoughts; and with the arrows of holy psalmody he ever continually shot and fought against the accursed spirits."

ÆT-STEAL, ÆT-STÆL, then, in these passages, must mean *a camp, military station, battle-array.* — In Kemble's Charters, No. 741 (Vol. 4, p. 31) we have a place named "and swa on ÆT-STEALLES BEORH", which apparently is the same as CAMP-MOUND, ARMY-CASTLE. — The O. N. STILLI means a mound, pit or trap (to catch wild animals).

STILLE, 63, stilly, quietly.

ON-STODON, 66, see u. STANDAN.

SUNU, 18, n. s., son.

SWA, 101, so, so-as, as.

SWAT-FAG, 7, sweat-fawe, blood-stained, dyed with gore.

SWEFAN, 58, inf., to (swave, swiff), sleep, slumber, fall, die. (Hence SWEFEN, a dream).

SWEORD. — SWURDE, 51, d. s. of SWURD (SWEORD), neut. a sword, falchion. — SWEORD-PLEGAN, 22, d. s. of SWEORD-PLEGA, m., sword-play, battle-sport, conflict. — SWEORD-WUND, 6, sword-wounded.

GESWICED, 3, deceiveth, faileth, 3 s. pr. of SWÍCAN, to (swik, sweak, swike), give back, illude, betray. In this sense, governs a *Dat.*; in the sense of to cease, a *Gen.*

We have exactly the same expression in Beowulf (Thorpe l. 2925):

"næfre hit æt hilde ne swác	"never in battle had it deceiv'd
manna ængum	any man,
þara þe hit mit mundum bewand.	of those who brandish'd it with hands."

SWURDE, 51, see SWEORD.

SYLLAN, 106, inf. to (sell, which originally meant to deliver, hand over), give, grant.

SYMLE, 31, 107, ever, alway.

SYNC-FATUM, 52, see under SINC.

TO, 11, 45, 110, 112, to. Prep. gov. *Dat.* — Used before gerund, 98. — TO, 35, too, too much.

GETWÆMDE, 88, 3 s. p. of ind. or subj. of TWÆMAN, to make in two, divide, separate, cut off, hinder. In this sense *Dat.* of person and *Ac.* of thing.

TWEGA, 14, see u. ODER.

ÞA, 59, the, that, those, ac. s. f. or ac. pl. of SE (ÞE). — ac. pl., 115.

ÞER, 113, there.

ÞÆS-ÞE, 48, 72, for that, because, since, as. (Properly Gen. s. n. of SE (ÞE) and ÞE indecl.)

ÐET, 119, that, n. s. n. — and 21 and pas., properly ac. s. n. — of SE (ÐE). — 14, that, when.

ÐAM, 22, 37, 61, 110, the, d. s. m. — 51, d. s. n. — 52, d. pl. — of SE (ÐE).

ÐARA, 4, of those. g. pl. of SE.

ÐAS, 48, this, ac. s. f. of ÐES.

ÐE, 19, 34, to thee, for thee, d. s. — 21, 40, thee, ac. s. — of ÐU.

ÐE, 4 and pas., who, which, that, indeclinable relative.

ÐEAH, 106, tho, yet, nevertheless, however. — ÐEAH-ÐE, 28, tho-that, altho.

geÐENCED, 115, 3 s. pr. of ÐENCAN, to think, think upon, meditate, consider.

ÐENDEN, 42 (a derivative of SE (ÐE); during that, long as, while.

ÐEODRIC, 65, n. s. pr. n.

ÐI, 43, 68, that, abl. s. m. n. of SE (ÐE).

ÐIN, 42, n. s. — 10, ac. s. n. — ÐINNE, 29, ac. s. m. of ÐIN, thine, thy.

ÐISSE, 55, this, d. s. f. of ÐES.

ÐOHTE, 64, I thought, 1 s. p. of ÐENCAN.

ÞONNE, 99, 102, 116, then, then-when, when. — [ÞONNE], 119, than.

ÐU, 14, and pas., thou.

ÐURH, 23, 76, thro, on account of. Prep. gov. *Ac.*

æt ÐUS HEADO, 90.

I will take these words together. The difficulty, the only real one in all these 119 lines, is in the word ÐUS.

There are several ways of explaining it.

1. We may take it as the common word ÐUS, English *thus*. This word occurs seldom in O. E. verse. It is found only a couple of times in all the 10,000 lines of Cædmon, and so elsewhere; in the Vercelli poetry it is somewhat more common. But where it *does* occur, it is always placed simply, never involutely. To set it between a Prep. and a Noun is, in O. E., as far as I know, absolutely impossible. And the word itself, particularly in this "steeled" passage, is trivial. It must therefore be dismist at once.

2. We may think of the word ÐES, this. Now 'HEADO' is probably *masc.* This must require in the Dat. ÐISUM in S. E. ÐIS(S)UM (or ÐAS(S)UM) in N. E. There must therefore be a violent change of the word, which

all judicious interpreters willingly avoid as long as possible. If we take 'HEADO' as *fem.* we require DISSE in the South E. or DISSER (or ÐÆSSER) in the North E. This is open to the same objection. And besides, *this combat* is very tame in such a passage.

3. We may look about for words like it. We have ÞYRS, Dat. ÞYRSE, a thruse, giant, goblin; ÞISE, Dat. ÞISAN, force; ÞYS, Dat. —, storm, and others, all which are inapplicable, and all which would compel us to revolutionize the text.

I therefore prefer to let the words stand as they are, and to defend and accept them.

ÆT, at, governs a *Dat.*

ÐUS. — We have in O. E. the wellknown word ÐUNOR or ÐUNER, masc., the O. H. G. DONAR, side by side with the (probably syncopated or assimilated) word ÐÚR or ÐÓR. These words were interchanged, but the latter was the popular and common expression, exactly as it was and is in Scandinavia, where ÞUNDR, *m.*, is found indeed, but only as an old poetical word and an epithet of (W)Oden in his capacity as the God of War, while the universal expression is otherwise (ÞUR or ÞOR on Runestones) ÞÓRR, ÞÓR, TOR.

It is certain that in the oldest English verse-dialect ÐÚR must have been frequently employed in certain kennings and phrases, as in Scandinavia, just as we still have so many epithets still left comprehending WÓDEN, FREA, SÆTER, FRÍGE, BALDOR, HAÐO, HILD, WIG, WUSC, WYRD, and many other Gods, Nymphs or Monsters. But, as we know, we have *lost* almost all our oldest literature. Every new *find*, if really antique, as here, may be expected to add something to our store. At first it may appear strange, but if we were to discover a whole O. E. Edda we should soon become familiar with words stranger still.

This O. E. ÐÚR is now most familiar to us, and indeed also in Scandinavia, as still subsisting in the name of THURS-DAY. Traces of ÐUNOR on the contrary are now faint, for THUNDER very early became a physical fact, not a mythical God. We have in Kemble and Bede a proper name or two (such as TOND-BERCT) which *may* be derived from him, and Kemble (S. in Engl. 1, 346, 348) has collected some curious local names and other fragments about him; but we have no leading traditions extant in which he figures.

In the Gospels publisht by Marshall, we find in the Rubrics to Matth. 15, 21; Luke 4, 38; John 5, 17; 8, 31; 13, 1, ÐUNRES ÐÆG; and

at John 5, 30 DÚRS DÆG. In Ælfred's Dooms, B, 5, 5; Rectitudines Sing. Pers. 3, and Ecclesiastical Institutions Section 41, we find DUNRES DÆG. But DÚRS DÆG must rapidly have predominated, and the moment we touch Early English DUNRES DÆG disappears. I do not know of one instance later than the O. E. period. Peter Langtoft has the form THUR DAY. In fact DÚR or DÓR doubtless advanced as the Scandinavian element in England became stronger and stronger. In the well-known Homily we have "DOR eac and EOWDEN" (not DUNOR and WODEN), and again gl. Cott. (Lye, Notes to Jun. Lex. s. v.) "in JOPPITER, DUNOR oððe DOR". The stately and archaic DUNOR (= JUPITER) gave way before the lighter DÚR (= JOVE). It is this latter form which has remained in all Scandinavia, where we have only ÞÓRS-DAGR, TORS-DAG, and in some German dialects we have DURS-TAG instead of DIENS-TAG.

Besides the place-names in Kemble, we have many person-names taken from this deity, which are also *common* in Scandinavia, where there is *no* such echo of ÞUNDR. Omitting those found in the Chronicle and other such books, in Kemble's Charters we have DUR-CYTEL (and DYR-CYTEL), DUR-ED (and DUR-ÆD), DUR-FERD (and the older form DURE-FERD, DURE-FERD), DUR-STAN, DOR-ULF (also written DOR-ULF) &c. &c., and among the Moneyers (See Hildebrand, Collection, pp. 131, 216, 242) we find THVR and THORR, THOR-CETEL (and the older form THORE-CETEL), THVR-CIL, THOR-ETH, THVRE-FERTH, THVR-GRIM, THVR-RUN, THVR-SIGE, THVR-STAN, and THVR-VLF (and THVR-OLF), to which others might be added.

This will be sufficient for my argument, the familiar use among our ancestors of the name of this Deity.

Now the Genitive of DÚR is DÚRES, or, by a common contraction, DÚRS.

But, in the passage above there is no R. We have DÚS.

In regard to this I might simply contend that it is a mere slip of the pen, that the R has fallen out. We know how faulty these old transcripts are (*as* faulty in fact as *modern* copies often are). In the first 120 lines of Beowulf we have half a dozen such clerical errors. In these 119 lines we have several, among them the MTOTEN above mentioned.

This indeed may be so. But I take other ground. I say that *many* of the "errors" found in old manuscripts — and often, unfortunately for philology, *silently* corrected without notice by the editors — are not faults at all, but depend upon some law of dialect or grammar or popular usage.

And this brings me to the subject of ELISION and ASSIMILATION, which play a part often not suspected, often scarcely enquired into, and this *from the earliest times*, for they became less common in manuscripts as 'grammar' became better known. In our own language we have them every where, both in the old dialect and in the new. They perplex the foreigner in our 'CHUMLEY (CHOLMONDELEY), WORSTER (WORCESTER), BEECHAM (BEAUCHAMP), our OF(T)EN, CAS(T)LE and a thousand other words, they smile at us in our O. E. WÓDNES-DÆG our educated WEDDNS-DAY our popular WENSDAY, our O. E. FRIGE-DÆG and present FRI-DAY, they startle us when we think of the fact that our R is scarcely pronounced at all in whole masses of words under certain circumstances, that our L has become vocalized in other groups (ta(L)k, wa(L)k, &c.), and so on. In the oldest O. E. the same system was in full play. We need only open Kemble's Charters passim, and examine even splendid documents, carefully penned and signed by Kings and Courtiers, to see, almost in the same line or page, and of one and the same person, such forms as CHE'ULF and CEOLULF, WUL'HARD and WULFHAR', SI'RED and SIG'RED and SIGERED, WI'BERT and WIGBERT, BAL'HARD and BALDHARD, WULF'UN and WULFHUN, WULF'E'H and WULFHE'H and WULFHEAH, CY'DEGN and CYNEDEGN, and so on. I might fill pages from one single volume. Indeed these words can sometimes scarcely be recognized, save by comparison of various charters, signed by the same King or Bishop, and where there can be no mistake or *du*-plicity.

But it is almost impossible to bring instances quite similar, in which R has been assimilated in Old English in this very word DÚS, because, as we know, our mythic songs, where we might find the word, are lost, while in the Charters &c., where it might occur in the name of the week-day, the dates are almost always given by Indictions or Kalends or Saints-days &c.

But Scandinavia may help us, for there this same organic law of elision and assimilation was from the oldest times in full play, and, the mother-tongue being chiefly used, the week-days are often mentioned. We there meet, both in old documents and in the language of cultivated people, things which appear at first extraordinary. ös for öST and WES for WEST, tho used by our forefathers, are now somewhat remarkable, in spite of our still saying a NOR'wester and a SOU'wester. But in looking for examples we must remember that most editions of old works or documents are *silently altered*, or invested with what the editors please

to call a *normal orthography*. If we add to this, that the great majority of the Sagas and Charters &c. were written by regular curial officers or school-educated men, as afraid of grammatical and orthographical "vulgarisms" as ourselves, we shall see that it is only by accident, or strength of local or provincial utterance, that these details have come down to us.

However, without entering on this large field — which, if it ever be cultivated, will give valuable results as to the existence of word-forms and genders not in our lexicons, as to the great antiquity of certain peculiarities in what we call the vulgar tongue, and as to the frequent disregard of what we call grammar (that is, the acknowledged existence of the *lingua rustica* side by side with the educated dialect), while they show the surprising influence of euphony and that sinking of letters which we now call elision and assimilation — I will give a few specimens of what I mean, all taken at hap hazard within the compass of a *few pages* in the Icelandic "Saga Olafs Konungsens Helga", edited, (from a previously unprinted but most valuable MS. written about 1200-1250), *without doctoring the text*, except with *due* notice, by Professors P. A. Munch and C. R. Unger, 8vo, Christiania, 1853: —

(ELIDED LETTERS.)

A. verit (A)vallt, eþ(A), færi(A) oc, haf(A), hvit(A), motst(A)vþvmenn, tveggi(A);

C. ek(C)i, s(C)eica, sli(C)t;

D. avn(D)verþv, Englan(D)s, Islan(D)s;

E. er (E)rot;

F. cal(F)s, ha(F)ði;

G. einstrein(G)þi, lav(G)ðv, sav(G)ð, þravn(G)t;

H. (H)allda, (H)efi, (H)ofgarþaress, (H)var;

I. bryn(I)vna, dryck(I)umni, e(I)þa, Eyste(I)ni, fiarr(I), fle(I)ra, flyt(I)andi, fylg(I)u, hef(I), h(I)avrnagla, kn(I)am, land(I), leidd(I), ne(I)tti, re(I)ða, scylld(I)r, Væring(I)ar;

L. Hro(L)fr, scy(L)do;

M. avngv(M), co(M)tv, cv(M)l, eno(M) helga, hial(M)setr, scattgiofo(M), sino(M);

N. hrei(N)sfitionum, hrei(N)stavcur, stav(N)gin; NN. þorari(NN);

O. iatoþ(O);

P. hlio(P) upp;

R. apt(R), A(R)moðs, bræst(R)inn, dy(R) var, e(R), forell(R)ar, havlda(R), hraðmælt(R), hvatrað(R), Leif(R), nio(R)ðr, no(R)ðr, orscvrða(R), scotsilf(R), Tvng(R), þą(R), ve(R)ðr;

S. bv(S) sins, heim(S), kavpscip(S)ens, scip(S) sins, siðaar(S)t, þreif(S)c;

T. a(T), hæt(T)a, lang(T), scam(T), slic(T), þröng(T), utars(T);

Ð. bro(Ð)r, hir(Ð)byscop, hir(Ð)lög, leyf(Ð)r, or(Ð), or(Þ)tac, re(Ð) hann, vi(Ð) töcur, mest (Þ)at;

ÐV. lavg(ÐV) þeir;

U. bra(V)t, mun(U);

V. S(V)einn;

Y. hle(Y)pa.

I need not add that Middle-age MSS. and printed books, English and Scandinavian, especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, before the Schoolmaster came in with his ferule, swarm with these assimilations. Even in SHAKESPEAR'S Merry Wives (first sketch) we have within a couple of leaves, A = HAVE, CUSSE = CURSE, HORSEHOO = HORSESHOE, SED = SAID, SES = SAYS, WORELL = WORLD, &c.

In the remaining observations, I will of course not trouble myself with forms where the R is not a part of the root but merely a mark of the nomin.; nor such words as KALL for KARL, a carle, FY'ST for FYRST, first, where it *is* essential, but will chiefly confine myself to this doctrine of assimilation with regard to the R in ÐÚRS.

Of course it would be most satisfactory to commence with the *Runic Inscriptions* of England and Scandinavia, for these come nearest in antiquity to the fragments here edited. But this *heathen* word is one which *seldom* occurs, still more so in the genitive (in S). As the name of a weekday it cannot be expected at all, in the oldest monuments. Besides, the great mass of Rune-stones is *Swedish*, and these, with some few exceptions, have not yet been correctly edited. It is only of late that a couple of distinguisht Swedish scholars (Prof. C. SÄVE and Herr R. DYBECK) have directed their attention to this important field.

A general remark may not, however, be out of place. The farther back we can go in these Runic studies, the more are we struck with this custom of elision and assimilation. It is commonest with the liquids (L, M, N, R) but is also found with other consonants, the vowels and the aspirate (H). And this, not only where the letter is non-essential, but also where it is *part of the root* (as in ÐÚR). We have an instance of this on the Swedish Rune-stone at Löfstalund in Södermanland (commonly pronounced *Sörmlan*'). See C. SÄVE, Annaler for Nord. Oldkyndighed, Kjöbenhavn 1852, p. 237, where we have ᛡᛁᚱᚾᚠᛅᛋ(ᚢ) HIRNFAS(U),

instead of HIRNFAST(U). And Prof. THORSEN, whose long-expected and invaluable work "The Runic Inscriptions of the Danes" is at last in the press, has kindly informed me that the Danish Ravnkilde Stone, near Hobro, found in 1847, still overtopping the barrow which it commemorates, and belonging to the *heathen* period, is raised after (in memory of) a brother named ᛁᛋᚴᛁ (in the ac. s.). As ᛁ stands for I or E, the word is ISKI or ESGE, which is = ESGER. Prof. T. has remarkt, that the same proper name is found in the gen. sing. on the Grensten Stone near Randers, from the Christian period, but not later than about 1025. Here we have ᛋᚢᚾ ᛅᛋᚴᛁᛋ ᛒᛁᛅᚾᛅᚱ ᛋᚢᚾᛅᚱ SUN ASKIS (ESGES) BIANAR SUNAR, = ESGERS. I lay stress upon this last inscription, because the following word does not begin with the *same* letter, for then ASGES might stand for ASGESS, which would be an assimilation of another kind; for the letter, in these cases, *need not be repeated.* This law of reduplication in Runic inscriptions (and sometimes in books) should not be forgotten; when two letters of the same kind would otherwise come together, especially at the end of one word and beginning of another, then — to spare the labor of the stone-cutter and the precious space on the stone itself — only one is frequently carved. It is by neglect of observing this, that Dr. HAIGH, in his excellent paper on the North-English Runic Monuments (in "Archæologia Æliana", Nov. 1856, Newcastle-upon-Tyne) has been led into error. He has read on the Falstone Stone EOMER THE SETTÆ, instead of EOMER THES SETTÆ.

There are also a couple of Runic Inscriptions which apply to this argument in the Collection just publisht by that learned and exact scholar Prof. C. SÄVE of Upsala ("Gutniska Urkunder: Guta Lag, Guta Saga och Gotlands Run-inskrifter, språkligt behandlade. 8vo, Stockholm 1859"). The two which I refer to are late, from the beginning of the 16th Century, but Runic writings keep up the oldest traditions. The first (No. 20, p. 40) has (Säve here uses Roman letters) ÞA WAR UR PRIM STAFR OK ÞOS SUNUTAHR, *then was* UR *Prime Stave* (the Golden Number) *and* ÞOS (= ÞORS) *Sunday(letter).* — The other is No. 147 (p. 48), and gives A TOS DAHINOM, *on* TOS (= TORS, *Thurs-)day.*

In parchment writings the number of these examples is very considerable. I will mention a few.

"Diplomatarium Islandicum, 8vo, Vol. 1, Kaupmannahöfn, 1859", has, at p. 399, anno 1220, BER'ÞORI (= BERGÞORI), and ASGEI'S (= ASGEIRS).

Waldemar II's (Danish) Land-Cartulary, written about 1250, mentions the little iland THURSLAND, afterwards called Taasinge or Thorseng, close S. W. of Fyen. In this document, as printed in Langebek's Scriptores Rer. Dan. Vol. 7, p. 524, we have, in large letters, "ꝺ THOSLAND", and again, at p. 531, "IN THOSLAND". The note at p. 581, says: — "Hodie Taasingeland, insula quædam. Scribitur etiam Thorsland, forte a deastro Thor, quod confirmatur nomine parvæ adjacentis insulæ Thoröe".

In an O. N. official document, the Boundary-line between Norway and Sweden, written between the years 1263 and 1283, and publisht by Prof. WERLAUFF in "Annaler for Nordisk Oldk. Kjöb. 1844-45", we have, p. 162, among the witnesses, NICHULAS ÞOSTEINSSON (= ÞORSTEINSSON), again at p. 164, GEILEIFUER (= GEIRLEIFUER), and ÞOSTEIN (= ÞORSTEIN) HAKONERSON, and again at p. 166, STECLA ÞOSTEIN.

In "Diplomatarium Norvegicum, Ed. C. C. A. LANGE & C. R. UNGER, Svo, Vol. 1, Christiania 1847", we find at p. 143 a document dated 1322, "A ÞOS (= ÞORS) DAGHENN nesta epter Gregorius messu dagh", — at p. 158, an. 1327, "J ÞOLLAAGHS GARDE", in ÞOR-LAKS garth, — and again "I ÞOLLAKS GARDE", — and at p. 182 (an. 1333) and in very many other places THOSTEIN, — and, at p. 206, ÞORBIO'N side by side with ÞORBIORN. GU'S for GUDS, ERLEN'S for ERLENDS, &c.

In "C. G. KÖNINGSVÄRDS Diplomatarium Dalecarlicum, 4to, Vol. 2, Fahlun 1844", we have an interesting example in documents dating from 1486 and fol. years. The word in question is THORIS ARWE BY (would be, in O. English, ÞORES ERFE BY) the BY or homestead or hamlet consisting of the ERF — inheritance, heritable property — left by THORIR (THOR). Now this, in different places, according as it nears the popular pronunciation, is spelt:

THORIS ARUA BY	TOSS ARA BY
THORESS ARFWE BY	TOS ARA BY, and
TOORS ARE BY	TOS-AR-BY.

With regard to this from the earliest times traceable "popular pronunciation" it will be sufficient to add, that there are at this moment in different parts of Scandinavia, especially in Denmark, *scores* of places connected with the worship of THOR or the residence of men called after his name, always, when a prefix, pronounced (and markt on most maps) as TOOS-, TOS-, TUSS-, TUS-, &c., and that the yeomanry of West Jutland still, in spite of schools and schoolmasters, know of *no other* name for THURSDAY (Danish Book-language THORS-DAG) than THOS-DA(G).

But *manum de tabulâ*. I have not time to continue. I can only assure my readers, that *hundreds* of additional instances could be collected from every part of Scandinavia.

I now come to HEADO (HADO, HADO, O. N. HÖÐR, older form HADR, HADUR, gen. HADAR, masc.) the mythical blind kemp who slew the White God BALDOR, but also used for war in general, — (the O. H. G. HADU). — HEADO is here dat. sing. after ET. — In O. H. G. the word is not used alone, but it is frequent in compounds, both as a *prefix* and an *affix*, and is probably masc.

In O. E. it has *never* before been found standing alone; but we have a great number of compounds, of which it is the *first* word, and to these many Proper names (such as HEADO- or HADO-BERHT, HEADO- or HADO-RED, HADO-WALD) may be added. I have not seen one, in which it is an *affix*. It is given by Bosworth as *fem.*, Ettmüller says "? *masc.*" The latter is probably correct.

If we now sum up what has been thus remarkt, it will be evident that the simplest, most natural and most beautiful version of ÆT DÚS HEÁDO will be, *at* or *in* THUR'S *struggle*, in our bloody quarrel, in our fierce feud. — Intensitive prefixes of this kind, all of them originally more or less mythical, such as BEADO-, FREÁ-, GIN-, HEADO-, HILDE-, OR-, &c. are common in O. E., and are also found in O. N.

But this translation meets an unexpected illustration and confirmation. We have *exactly* the same kind of expression in the O. N. Scaldic poetry, where we find such kennings as

ÞUNDAR FÚRR = ÞUNOR'S or ÐÚR'S or (W)ODEN'S FIRE, = *a sword*,

ÞUNDAR SKÚR = ÞUNOR'S or ÐÚR'S or (W)ODEN'S SHOWER, = *arrow-rain, battle*.

ÐY, 20, 34, 46, for-that, so-that, for, because, therefore, abl. s. m. n. of SE (ÐE). — At line 20, the word may possibly be redd 'ðæt'.

UN, see un-MEGAS, un-RYHTE, un-SCENDE.

UNC, 45, to-us-two, dat. dual of IC. The word may possibly be read MIC, but such words as TO GEOCE (a prep. and noun forming a *new* compound prep.) take their following word in the *dat.*, and MIC is in the *accus.*

ut-for-LET, 75, see under LETAN.

WALDERE, 78, n. s. pr. n.

WAT, 64, I wote, wot, know, 1 s. pr. of WITAN.

WEAL, 26, ac. s., (wall, rampart), high ground, plain, wong, open land, battle-field.

WEALDAN, 118, inf., to wield, use, employ, rule, enjoy, govern. Gov. *Dat.*

WEARD, 44, was, worth, 3 s. p. of WEORDAN.

WELAN, 117, ac. s. or pl. of WELA, weal, wealth, riches, treasures.

WELAND[ES], 2, 74, g. s. of WELAND, n. pr. — The MS. is obscure here, from abrasion. We may read 'weland geworc' or 'welandes worc'; in the former case the *es* of the genitive has been accidentally omitted.

WENDEST, 84, thou didst ween, think, imagine, 2 s. pr. of WÉNAN.

WEORDA, 40, honor, deck, adorn, 2 s. imper. of WEORDIAN. — GEWEORDOD, 95, p. p.

WERIGAN, 91, inf., to ware, defend. — WERED, 99, 3 s. pr. defends, guards, preserves. Gov. *Dat.*

WIDIA, 75, n. s., and WIDIAN, 65, d. s. proper name.

WIGGES, 89, g. s. of wíg, here personified, War, Strife. — WIG, 25, ac. s., here not personified, war, strife, battle. — WIG-RÆDENNE, 39, ac. s. of WIG-RÆDEN, fem., a war-stead, battle-line, camp.

WIGA, 79, n. s., a (wigger), warman, fighter, hero, soldier, brave, chief. — See ORD-WYGA.

WINE, 19, 85, a friend; but also, as applied to a prince, a friend-lord, protector, lord-chief, king.

WID, 101, with, usually gov. *Dat.* and *Ac.* (Is another form of MID).

WLANCE, 116, n. pl. of WLANC, lofty, proud, a high one, hero.

GEWORC, 2, work, workmanship. N. s. — See WELAND[ES].

WORDUM, 20, 83, with words, in words. d. pl. of WORD.

WUND, 6, see SWEORD-WUND.

YFLE, 102, evil, bad, savage, n. pl. of YFEL. (The word is doubtful. Possibly we may read ALLE, all.)

MISPRINTS

already observed.

Page 3, Line 1 (note), read 'facsimile' for 'translation'.
» 7, » 15, read 'kinsman'.
» 12, » 15, 16, » 'Gammel Samling'.
» 68, » 15, » 'DÆDUM'.

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